

THE
MISCELLANEOUS WORKS
OF
BISHOP ATTERBURY.

WITH
HISTORICAL NOTES BY JOHN NICHOLS.

VOLUME V.

“ How pleasing ATTERBURY’s softer hour !

“ How shin’d the soul, unconquer’d in the Tower !” POPE.



LONDON:
PRINTED FOR AND BY THE EDITOR.
M.DCC.XCVIII.



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* "If the Author of this Essay had read the Pursuits of Literature before he had finished his Remarks on the *Arrii* and *Sebofi*, he could have added a pat note from a passage in Tully cited by this ingenious Bard, and diffuse Noteriff. For, in the Advertisement to Part the Fourth, after observing in the Text, p. v. "It is, indeed, unfortunate that scarce a subject in Literature can be interesting, without the Science and Matter of Politics *;" there is a reference to this passage from Dialog. de Oratoribus, l. 29.—* "*Quibus occupatus et obsessus animus quantum loci bonis artibus relinquit.*" And, Qu. Whether, in the Appendix to Atterbury's Memoirs, p. 320, l. 6, this observation, or rather quotation, if subjoined in a note, or, after the manner of the Writer of the Pursuits of Literature, thrust into the Text, would not have been an Argumentum ad Ciceronem, and in consequence to his Right Reverend Parallel?" S. D.

BRIEF MEMOIRS

OF

BISHOP ATTERBURY.

THE subject-matter of the present volumes affording an opportunity of supplying several dates, and of correcting some important facts, in the Memoirs of our admirable Prelate, a concise account of him shall here be given.

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, son of Dr. Lewis Atterbury¹, rector of Long Rissington, Gloucestershire, and of Milton or Middleton Keynes, Bucks, was born at the rectorial house of the latter place, March 6, 1661-2; admitted a King's Scholar² in 1676 at Westminster, where Dr. Busby³ and Dr. Knipe⁴ then united their splendid talents; and was thence elected in 1680 a Student of Christ's Church, Oxford,

¹ Of his father and grandfather, see vol. I. p. 480.

² See a specimen of his school exercises, vol. IV. p. 1.

³ Of whom see vol. I. p. 473.

⁴ Pp. 102. 177.

under Dr. Fell, who was both Dean and Bishop. From this illustrious seminary we find him in 1681 acknowledging his gratitude to Dr. Busby¹, and soon distinguishing himself in the foremost ranks of literature.

Before he was completely twenty, he published a Latin version² of “Dryden’s *Abfalom* and *Achitophel*, 1682;” and in 1684 was the editor of “*Ἀνθολογία, seu Selecta quædam Poematum Italorum qui Latinè scripserunt;*” of which Dr. Johnson³, who knew not that it was Atterbury’s, has said, “A small selection from the Italians who wrote in Latin had been published at London, about the latter end of the last century, by a man who concealed his name, but whom his Preface shews to have been qualified for his undertaking. This collection Pope amplified by more than half, and (1740) published it in two volumes, but injuriously omitted his predecessor’s Preface⁴.” It is preserved in the present collection.

In 1687 Mr. Atterbury made his first essay in controversial writing; and shewed himself an

¹ Vol. I. pp. 1—5.

² See this translation, and its history, vol. III. p. 235.

³ In his *Life of Pope*, among those of the English Poets.

⁴ Vol. IV. p. 5.

able and strenuous advocate for the Protestant Religion, in "An Answer to some Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther, and the Original of the Reformation".

His

* The "Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther" were published under the name of Mr. Abraham Woodhead, an eminent Roman Catholic of those times, who wrote several tracts in defence of the Church of Rome; but the true author was Mr. Obadiah Walker, Master of University College. The title was, "Two Discourses; the first, concerning the Spirit of Martin Luther, and the Original of the Reformation. The second, concerning the Celibacy of the Clergy." The latter tract was censured in "An Answer to a Discourse concerning the Celibacy of the Clergy, printed at Oxford, 1688." Mr. Atterbury's Answer was published Aug. 10, 1687; and presently after animadverted upon by Mr. Thomas Deane, fellow of University College, at the end of "The Religion of Martin Luther, whether Catholic or Protestant, proved from his own Works." Another edition of Atterbury's "Answer" was published at London, in 1723, 8vo.; and it is reprinted at large in vol. IV. p. 12—98. It is a very learned performance, and written with uncommon spirit and vivacity. This vindication of the great Reformer induced Bishop Burnet to rank the Author among those eminent Divines who had distinguished themselves by their admirable defences of the Protestant Religion. Our Prelate himself, in his speech at his trial, vol. IV. p. 426, says, "Thirty-seven years ago I wrote in the defence of Martin Luther, the great champion of the Reformation; and am perhaps the only Divine, or Member of this Church, that has defended him in a treatise expressly writ for that purpose, from the infancy of the Reformation

His application to study was intense. In polite literature, and even in mathematical researches¹, he is known to have eminently excelled; and of his attachment to religious duties we have some striking proofs². Nor was he less distinguished by his companionable qualities. Among his more immediate intimates may be reckoned Smalridge³, Whitfield⁴, Hickman⁵, Charlett⁶, Harrington⁷, Newton⁸, King⁹, Travell¹⁰, Gough¹¹, and the two brothers Robert¹² and John¹³ Freind. By his tutors at Westminster he had been particularly noticed; and at Christ Church he

"to this day. And whatever happens to me, my
 "Lords, I will suffer any thing, and would (by God's
 "grace) burn at a stake, rather than, in any material
 "point, depart from the Protestant Religion as professed
 "in the Church of England." And Mr. Wynne, his Counsel, observes, in his defence of the Bishop, how grievous it was, for one of his Lordship's character and function, to be charged with designs in favour of Popery, who was the only Clergyman in England that ever thought it worth his while to draw his pen in defence of Martin Luther, the great instrument of our Reformation from Popery.

¹ Vol. I. p. 2.

⁴ P. 35.

³ Pp. 24. 505.

⁴ Pp. 9, 10.

⁵ P. 28.

⁶ Pp. 20—24.

⁷ P. 477.

⁸ P. 19.

⁹ Pp. 14. 43.

¹⁰ P. 9.

¹¹ P. 28.

¹² P. 454.

¹³ Vol. III. p. 342.

was honoured with the friendship of Dr. Aldrich¹.

Whilst sedulously pursuing the severe paths of study, he occasionally indulged in the gayer effusions of poetry: but, though his attachment to the Muses continued unimpaired throughout life, not many of his poems have been preserved, and some of those have not till lately been ascertained to be his production. It is somewhat singular that his name, as far as we have searched, does not appear in any one of the public complimentary verses which have issued from the University press on public occasions². We have translations of three Odes and part of an Epistle of Horace³, one Eclogue from Virgil⁴, an Idyllium from Theocritus⁵; two small original songs⁶; a Latin Elegy⁷; and ingenious Impromptu⁸; two Epigrams⁹ in Latin¹⁰; and a much admired one in English¹¹ on the fan of Miss Osborne, the lady whom he afterwards married¹².

¹ Vol. I. p. 481.

² Some few by his friend Smalridge are admitted in this collection, vol. III. p. 351—360; with one by his nephew, p. 363.

³ Vol. III. p. 281—289.

⁴ P. 291.

⁵ P. 290.

⁶ P. 297.

⁷ P. 279.

⁸ P. 299.

⁹ Pp. 281. 302.

¹⁰ A third may be seen in the "Illustrations" of vol. III. N° X.

¹¹ Vol. III. p. 296.

¹² P. 374.

BRIEF MEMOIRS OF

When these are enumerated, the whole list is given that has been preserved of his juvenile essays. There are some elegant epitaphs¹ from his maturer pen, and some political squibs². He is said to have completed a version of Virgil's Georgics not long before his death³; but this has never been ascertained.

His zeal for the memory of a favourite writer induced him in 1690 to write a Preface to the "Second Part of Mr. Waller's Poems⁴."

The time of his entering into holy orders, though not exactly known, may be very nearly ascertained by his "Epistolary Correspondence;" where a letter to his father⁵ in 1690 is highly expressive of a superior genius, impatient of the shackles of an humble college life; whilst the father's answer⁶ displays the anxiety, together with a mixture of the severity, of the paternal character, offended by the querulousness of the son, and his dissatisfaction. He had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts June 13, 1684 (when he was little more than 22 years old); and that of Master, April 20, 1687; and it has been in-

¹ Vol. III. pp. 302—310. 344.

² P. 300, 301.

³ See vol. II. p. 456.

⁴ Vol. IV. p. 99.

⁵ Vol. I. p. 15.

⁶ P. 16.

geniously conjectured¹, that he had applied to the college for permission to take pupils whilst he was Bachelor of Arts only (which is unusual), and that he was refused. After passing two or three years more in the college, he then seems to have thought too highly of himself (when now become Master), to take any at all, and to be “pinned down, as,” he says, “it is his hard luck to be, to a nauseous circle “of small affairs”.”

This restlessness appears to have broken out in October 1690, when he was Moderator of the College, and had had Mr. Boyle four months under his tuition, who “took up half “his time,” and whom he never had a thought of parting with till he should leave Oxford; but wished he “could part with him to-morrow on that score.” The father tells him, in November, “You used to say, when “you had your degrees, you should be able to “swim without bladders. You used to rejoice at your being Moderator, and of your “*quantum* and Sub-lecturer; but neither of “these pleased you; nor was you willing to “take those pupils the house afforded you “when Master; nor doth your Lecture please,

¹ Vol. I. p. 25.

² P. 15.

“or Noblemen satisfy you.” In the same letter the father advises his “marrying into
 “some family of interest, either Bishop or
 “Archbishop’s, or some Courtier, which may
 “be done, with accomplishments, and a por-
 “tion too.” And to part of this counsel young Atterbury attended; for he soon after married Miss Catharine Osborn (a near relation to the first Duke of Leeds²), who resided at or in the neighbourhood of Oxford: a great beauty, and possessed of a fortune of seven thousand pounds.

About this period he took orders; when
 “another scene, and another sort of conver-
 “sation,” opened to him. It is probable that his first object on entering into the Church was to officiate at the rectory of Long Rissington; which, says the father in the letter above quoted, “cost me long and wet journeys, besides expence. Madam Bray is very civil to
 “me. If she would give you the next turn
 “on my death or resignation, it would be
 “somewhat; but you may enjoy it better,
 “and without charge, or loss of any thing in

¹ Vol. I. p. 18.

² I have been told that she was his niece; and her portrait is said to be in the collection of the present Duke of Leeds at North-Mymms. She was also related to Sir John Osborn, bart. of Chicksand; see the additions to vol. III. p. 360.

“Oxford,

“ Oxford, *under my title*; it may close with
 “ every preferment elsewhere better, when not
 “ charged with this.”

In February 1690-1, we find him resolved
 “ to bestir himself in his office in the house¹;”
 that of Censor, an officer (peculiar to Christ
 Church) who presides over the classical ex-
 ercises. He then also held the catechetical
 lecture founded by Dr. Busby².

An academic life must have been irksome
 and insipid to a person of his active and as-
 piring temper; and it was hardly possible that
 a Clergyman of his fine genius, improved by
 study, with a spirit to exert his talents, should
 remain long unnoticed.

In October, 1691, on the particular recom-
 mendation of Dr. Henry Compton, then Bishop
 of London, he was elected Lecturer of St. Bride's,
 the largest and the most considerable parish
 within the walls of the city of London³.

The earliest of his sermons in print, “ The
 “ Duty of Praise and Thanksgiving⁴,” was
 preached before the Queen, at Whitehall, May

¹ Vol. I. p. 25.

² P. 26.

³ P. 484.

⁴ It was thus advertised in the Gazette, July 18,
 1692: “ A Sermon preached before the Queen at
 “ Whitehall, May 29, 1692. By F. Atterbury, Stu-
 “ dent of Christ Church. Published by her Majesty's
 “ special command.”

29, 1692; though it does not appear that he was at that time either Chaplain to the Queen, or a Whitehall Preacher.

He was elected Minister and Preacher of Bridewell, Oct. 4, 1693; and in the August following preached a celebrated sermon before the Governors of that House, "on the Power of Charity to cover Sins;" to which Mr. Hoadly (afterwards Bishop) published some "Exceptions."

He was soon after this nominated one of the Chaplains in ordinary to their Majesties; and, on the 21st of October, 1694, preached before the Queen a Sermon, intituled, "The ^{Scorner} ~~Sinner~~ "incapable of True Wisdom;" which was also warmly attacked.

It was about this time that he removed to Chelsea, and formed an intimacy with the great Lord Cutts; in whose affliction he pathetically sympathises in a sermon preached at Kensington in December 1697².

On the 22d of November, 1698, he joined in celebrating the anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Cecilia³; and was about that

¹ Vol. III. p. 171.

² Vol. I. p. 44; vol. IV. p. 107.

³ See the Legend of St. Cecilia, and some particulars of the solemn mode in which her day was usually celebrated, Gent. Mag. vol. LIII. p. 635.

month appointed Preacher at the Rolls by the then Master, Sir John Trevor, an excellent discerner of men and manners, to whom his singular merits in the pulpit had been the principal introduction. Several of his Sermons at that Chapel are in his printed volumes. The first of these is dated Dec. 4, 1698¹; and on the Sunday following he delivered his farewell sermon as lecturer of St. Bride's.

The share he took in the controversy against Bentley is now very clearly ascertained. In a letter to Mr. Boyle, dated "Chelsea, 1697-8," he says, "this matter cost me some time and trouble. In laying the design of the book, in writing above half of it, in reviewing a good part of the rest, in transcribing the whole, and attending the press, half a year of my life went away²."

A still larger field of activity was now opening. In the latter end of the year 1699, or the very beginning of 1700, our Author published, "The Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation stated and vindicated,

¹ Vol. III. p. 171.

² Vol. I. p. 46. The reader who may wish to see a history of this remarkable controversy, with some account of the many books and pamphlets it occasioned, will be gratified by referring to the *Biographia Britannica*, vol. I. pp. 335, 345.

"cated,

“ cated, in Answer to a late Book of Dr.
 “ Wake’s, intituled, ‘ The Authority of Chri-
 “ stian Princes over their Ecclesiastical Synods
 “ asserted,’ &c. and several other Pieces,” 8vo.
 The celebrity of this publication was astonish-
 ing. “ The world,” says Dr. Wake to Dr.
 Charlett, March 28, 1700, “ is as full of Mr.
 “ Atterbury’s book as I left it at Oxford. I find
 “ men’s judgements follow their affections;
 “ and some look upon it to be a complete
 “ conquest, others to have no such formidable
 “ appearance in it: but in this all agree, that
 “ it was writ with a hearty good-will, and
 “ may be a pattern for charity and good
 “ breeding’.” It was censured, however, in
 print, by Bp. Burnet, in June²; and in No-
 vember the Judges had a serious consultation³
 on it, as being supposed to entrench on the
 royal prerogative. Holt⁴, then Lord Chief
 Justice, was strongly of that opinion; and the
 idea was encouraged by Archbishop Tenison,
 Dr. Wake, and others’.

The Metropolitan endeavoured in vain to
 persuade King William that it was his interest
 to suffer such a censure to pass⁵; “ but as it
 “ certainly is not,” says Atterbury, Nov. 12,

¹ Vol. I. p. 53.

² Ibid.

³ P. 54.

⁴ Pp. 53. 58.

⁵ P. 59.

⁶ P. 64.

1700, "so I question whether he has persuaded him; for all the appearances of Court towards me, when I waited in the end of last month, looked a contrary way; and the King himself took notice of me, and shewed me a particular countenance¹."

Mr. Atterbury gained also, what was to him of still greater consequence, the steady patronage of Sir Jonathan Trelawny, then Bishop of Exeter²: and, through that Prelate's introduction, the friendship and support of Laurence Earl of Rochester³ and Bishop Sprat⁴.

On the 29th of May, 1700, he preached, on the Anniversary of the Restoration of King Charles the Second and the Royal Family, before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, at St. Paul's Cathedral⁵.

In December 1700, appeared a second edition of the "Rights," &c. considerably enlarged, with his name in the title-page, and a dedication to the Archbishops Tenison and Sharp⁶. The press teemed instantly with answers; by Dean Kennett, in one bulky octavo; by Dr. Hody, in two volumes still larger; and by Dr. Wake, in a mighty folio⁷.

¹ Vol. I. p. 64.

² See p. 53, & *passim*.

³ P. 56.

⁴ P. 57.

⁵ This was duly announced in the Protestant Mercury, May 29, 1700.

⁶ P. 67.

⁷ P. 66.

Another

Another controversy of some importance was at this time also most ably agitated by Atterbury, the execution of the *Præmunientes*; a privilege enjoyed by the several Bishops of issuing writs to summon the inferior clergy to Convocation. Bishops Compton, Sprat, and Trelawny, were his strenuous supporters on this occasion¹; and by the latter he was solidly rewarded, in a presentation to the Archdeaconry of Totness, in which he was installed January 29, 1700-1².

Dr. Atterbury's zeal for his Patron's honour throughout life fully justified the choice. His letters from this period to the Bishop of Exeter abound with curious anecdotes of ecclesiastical and political history.

His attendance in Convocation was regular, and his exertions great. In placing Dr. Hooper in the Prolocutor's chair, as the successor of Dr. Jane³; in the examination of obnoxious books⁴; in the controversy between the Lower and Upper Houses⁵; in "considering the methods of promoting the propagation of Religion⁶ in foreign parts;" and in preparing an address to the Sovereign⁷;

¹ Vol. I. pp. 60—64. ² P. 71. ³ Pp. 73. 76.

⁴ P. 75. ⁵ Pp. 83. 86. 87.

⁶ Pp. 88. 91. Dr. Atterbury never was a member of the Society for that purpose. ⁷ Vol. I. p. 83.

his

his zeal distinguished itself. He attended the King at Kensington, March 10, 1700-1; and has described the gracious reception he experienced¹.

At this period he was engaged, with some other learned Divines, in revising an intended edition of the "Greek Testament," with Greek Scholia, collected chiefly from the Fathers by John Gregory, M. A. Archdeacon of Gloucester².

On the 29th of May, he preached before the House of Commons; and on the 16th of August published, "The Power of the Lower House of Convocation to adjourn itself, vindicated from the Misrepresentations of a late Paper, intituled, A Letter to a Friend in the Country concerning the Proceedings in the present Convocation³." This treatise, being a sort of analysis of the whole controversy, is given at large in the present collection⁴.

The road to fame and fortune was now fair before him. The friendship of individuals was followed by public honours. He received the thanks of the Lower House of Convocation,

¹ Vol. I. p. 86.

³ Vol. I. pp. 98, 97.

² Vol. IV. p. 206.

⁴ Vol. IV. p. 130.

April 7, 1701, for his "learned pains in asserting and vindicating their rights;" and, in consequence of a letter of request from that venerable Synod, the degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred on him in 1701 by the University of Oxford¹.

Three separate pamphlets soon after came from our Author's pen²; the first intituled, "A Letter to a Clergyman in the Country, concerning the Choice of Members, and the Execution of the Parliament Writ, for the ensuing Convocation," Nov. 17, 1701; a second, with a similar title, Dec. 10, 1701; and a third, in defence of the two former, Jan. 8, 1701-2.

Dr. Woodward, Dean of Sarum, who had been elected Prolocutor Dec. 29, 1701, was presented in the Upper House, Jan. 15³, and died within a month. His successor was Dean Aldrich.

On the 16th of March King William died; but Dr. Atterbury continued to fill the office of a Court Chaplain under Queen Anne.

In May, 1702, he delivered his first Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Totness,

¹ *March* 5, says the "List of Oxford Graduates;" a mistake possibly for *May* 5.

² Vol. I. p. 102.

³ Pp. 103. 107.

in which he briefly details the events that had recently occurred in Convocation¹. In this visitation, after having duly performed every official duty, he attended in person on his munificent patron at the family mansion of Trelawn.

Early in October he published, “The Parliamentary Origin and Rights of the Lower House of Convocation cleared, and the Evidences of its Separation from the Upper House produced, on several Heads, particularly in the Point of making separate Applications (as a distinct Body of Men) to other Bodies or Persons, in Pursuance of an Argument for the Power of the Lower House to adjourn itself².”

In February, 1702-3, he had a prospect opened to him of farther advancement in the church of Exeter³; and in the middle of April, after delivering a second charge to the clergy of his archdeaconry⁴, repeated his visit to Bp. Trelawney; whom he warmly thanks, Sept. 5, 1703, for “his unparalleled bounty, bestowed at a time when nobody else either would or durst take notice of him;” and defends himself against some gross misrepres-

¹ Vol. IV. p. 207.

³ Pp. 157. 161. 270.

VOL. V.

² Vol. I. p. 134.

⁴ Vol. IV. p. 215.

sentations.

sentations¹. From this excellent Friend he continued to receive repeated proofs of regard; and a promise of the Chancellorship of Exeter, then likely to become vacant².

He now again engaged closely in the business of the Convocation³, and in soliciting the remission of the First-fruits⁴; and on the Queen's inauguration-day, March 8, 1703-4, preached before the House of Commons.

In May 1704, he became one of the four Canon-residentiaries of Exeter; and on the first of July received an unexpected message from Mr. Secretary Hedges, that the Queen had nominated him to the vacant Deanry of Carlisle. "Nothing," he says, "could be
"farther from my thoughts than such a pre-
"ferment, which gives me a higher station in
"the world, and but very little (after the ne-
"cessary deductions made) to support it.
"However, as it is a mark of her Majesty's
"favour and goodness to me, I did and do
"accept it very thankfully". The patent passed the great seal on the 15th of July; but some obstacles being thrown in the way by Dr. Nicolson, then bishop of that diocese, he was not instituted till October 12^o.

¹ Vol. I. p. 244.

² P. 270.

³ P. 261.

⁴ P. 296.

⁵ P. 328.

⁶ See, on this head, vol. I. p. 358—363; and, more particularly the authentic documents in vol. V. pp. 1—5. In

In May, 1705, he gave the Dean and Chapter of Exeter such singular satisfaction, in the settlement of some pecuniary matters which affected the Canons of that Church, that he received their public thanks, "for his disinterested regard for the peace and honour of the society".

Sir Thomas Rawlinson, Lord Mayor of London, in 1705-6, appointed Dean Atterbury his Chaplain; and we have a sermon of his in print, with a Dedication to his Patron², preached at Guildhall-chapel, on the choice of a successor, Sept. 28, 1706.

Soon after this, he was engaged in a controversy with Mr. Hoadly, concerning the advantage of virtue with regard to the present life³, occasioned by his sermon, preached August

¹ Vol. I. p. 394.

² P. 395.

³ The doctrine of this sermon Mr. Hoadly examined, in "A Letter to Dr. Francis Atterbury, concerning "Virtue and Vice," published in 1706; in which he undertakes to shew that Dr. Atterbury has extremely mistaken the sense of his text. Dr. Atterbury, in a volume of "Sermons" published by himself, prefixed a long "Preface" to the Sermon at Mr. Bennet's funeral; in which he replies to Mr. Hoadly's arguments, and produces the concurrent testimonies of expositors, and the authorities of the best writers, especially our English Divines, in confirmation of the doctrine he had advanced. In answer to this "Preface," Mr. Hoadly published,

gust 30, 1706, at the funeral of Mr. Bennet; whose character is given at large in the present Collection¹.

In January, 1707-8, he drew up the solemn Charge which still continues to be given to each Governor of the Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem, for which he received the thanks of a General Court²; and soon after "furnished Instructions for the Apprentices of "Bridewell Hospital³."

In the same month he published an octavo volume of "Sermons," with a long dedication, in which the character of Bishop Trelawney is delineated with the most affectionate gratitude⁴.

A third Charge delivered as Archdeacon to the Clergy of Totness, in the summer of 1708, gave our Author an opportunity of shewing his great skill in Ecclesiastical Antiquities, by entering largely into the duties, not very ge-

published, in 1708, "A Second Letter," &c. and in the Preface to his "Tracts," tells us, these two letters against Dr. Atterbury were designed to vindicate and establish the tendency of virtue and morality to the present happiness of such a creature as man is; which he esteems a point of the utmost importance to the Gospel itself.

¹ Vol. IV. p. 223.

³ P. 426.

² Vol. I. p. 421.

⁴ Pp. 402. 406.

nerally understood, of the office of *Rural Dean*¹.

His "Reflections on a late Scandalous Report about the Repeal of the Test Act" were written in the same year².

In 1709 he preached a Spital Sermon at St. Bride's, before the then Lord Mayor, Sir Charles Duncombe³; an Anniversary Sermon at St. Paul's, before the Sons of the Clergy⁴; and a Latin Sermon before the Clergy of London, at St. Alphage's church, May 17⁵; which engaged him in a fresh dispute with Mr. Hoadly, concerning "Passive Obedience".

In

¹ Vol. IV. p. 230.

² P. 245.

³ Vol. I. p. 434.

⁴ P. 438.

⁵ P. 432.

⁶ Dr. Atterbury, in his pamphlet, intituled, "Some Proceedings in Convocation, A. D. 1705, faithfully represented," had charged Mr. Hoadly (whom he sneeringly calls "the modest and moderate Mr. Hoadly") with "treating the body of the Established Clergy with language more disdainful and reviling than it would have become him to have used towards his Presbyterian antagonist, upon any provocation, charging them with rebellion in the Church, whilst he himself was preaching it up in the State." This induced Mr. Hoadly to set about a particular examination of Dr. Atterbury's Latin sermon; which he did, in a piece, intituled, "A large Answer to Dr. Atterbury's Charge of Rebellion, &c. London, 1710," wherein he endeavours to lay open the Doctor's artful

In 1709-10 came on the famous trial of Dr. Sacheverell; whose remarkable speech on that occasion¹, March 7, was generally supposed to have been drawn up by our Author².

In September, 1710, he attended the Queen, in his capacity of Archdeacon of Totness, with an Address from the Bishop and Clergy of the diocese of Exeter³; and on the 25th of November following was presented to the

management of the controversy, and to let the Reader into his true meaning and design; which, in an "Appendix" to the "Answer," he represents to be "The carrying on two different causes, upon two sets of contradictory principles," in order to "gain himself applause amongst the same persons at the same time, by standing up for and against liberty; by depressing the prerogative, and exalting it; by lessening the executive power, and magnifying it; by loading some with all infamy, for pleading for submission to it in one particular which he supposeth an encroachment; and by loading others with the same infamy for pleading against submission to it, in cases that touch the happiness of the whole community. This," he tells us, "is a method of controversy so peculiar to one person (Dr. Atterbury) as that he knows not that it hath ever been practised or attempted by any other Writer. Mr. Hoadly has likewise transcribed in this "Appendix" some remarkable passages out of our Author's "Rights, Powers, and Privileges, &c." which he confronts with others from his Latin Sermon.

¹ See it at large in vol. IV. p. 255.

² To whom Sacheverell, in his last will, bequeathed five hundred pounds.

³ Vol. IV. p. 288.

Upper House of Convocation, having been unanimously elected Prolocutor of the Lower House, where he had long had the chief management of affairs. His friend Smalridge on this occasion made an eloquent speech in the Upper House¹.

Bishop Burnet, in his account of this Convocation, having observed, that the Queen, in appointing a Committee of Bishops to be present, and consenting to their resolutions, not only passed over all the Bishops made in King William's reign, but a great many of those named by herself, and set the Bishops of Bristol² and St. David's³, then newly consecrated, in a distinction above all their brethren, by adding them to the Committee, upon the indisposition of the Archbishop and others, adds: "All this was directed by Dr. Atterbury, who had the confidence of the Chief Minister; and because the other Bishops had maintained a good correspondence with the former ministry, it was thought fit to put the marks of the Queen's distrust upon them, that it might appear with whom her royal favour and trust was lodged."

On the 11th of March, 1710-11, he was appointed, by the Convocation, one of the Com-

¹ See vol. IV. p. 291.

² Dr. John Robinson.

³ Dr. Philip Bisse.

mittee for comparing Mr. Whiston's doctrines with those of the Church of England; and, in June following, he had the chief hand in drawing up "A Representation of the present State of Religion".

On the 28th of August 1711, more than eight months after the death of Dr. Aldridge², Dr. Atterbury was appointed Dean of Christ-church, notwithstanding the strong interest and warm applications of several great men in behalf of his old friend Dr. Smalridge, who in this case was his competitor. He received on that occasion a most admirable letter of congratulation from Dean Swift, with whom he had but a few months before formed a pleasing intimacy³.

Our Author's speech at Christ-church, on the 27th of September, the day of his admission to the Deanry, is printed in this collection⁴; with another, which he made, as Dean, on presenting the Lord Harley, in the Convocation at Oxford, to the degree of

¹ See this in vol. IV. p. 307.

² Dean Swift, in June that year, states, that his neighbour Atterbury was heartily angry at being kept in suspense about the Deanry of Christ-church, which had then been six months vacant. See vol. I. pp. 448—450.

³ Vol. I. p. 449.

⁴ Vol. IV. p. 331.

M. A. as an honorary favour from the University¹.

If we may credit contemporary representations, the advancement of Dr. Atterbury to the Deanry of Christ-church was a circumstance unpleasant to the members of that learned seminary. "No sooner was he settled there," says Mr. Stackhouse, "than all ran into disorder and confusion. The Canons had been long accustomed to the mild and gentle government of a Dean who had every thing in him that was endearing to mankind; and could not therefore brook the wide difference that they perceived in Dr. Atterbury." Some other remarks on "the turbulent and imperious temper of our Author having been already cited, not only from Stackhouse, but from later writers of far superior eminence"; it is unnecessary in this place to enlarge on so unpleasant a topick.

In May 1712, we find him lamenting the dispute between the two Houses of Convocation, on the Validity of Lay Baptism; which, he asserts, "will be looked upon by wise and good men as a stroke levelled at the present constitution of the Church of England; and as a cordial intended to keep up the Dissenters'

¹ Vol. I. p. 337.

² Vol. II. pp. 4. 27.
spirits

spirits under their late mortification¹." And in November that year his anxiety for the literary honour both of Westminster and Christchurch is evident, by the manner in which he mentions the verses which carried the poetry prizes²; by his attention in providing a proper repository for the library of Dean Aldrich; and the pleasure he evidently took in Dr. Radcliffe's munificent (though unsuccessful) proposal for enlarging the Bodleian Library³.

Early in January 1712-13, he attended the Convocation, anxious to repel the intended attacks on the validity of Lay Baptism⁴; and, in February, expresses his opinion somewhat forcibly on the doctrines of Whiston and Clarke⁵, and his personal regard for Mr. Bingham⁶. In April that year he had a fair opportunity of returning the congratulations of Dr. Swift⁷; to which the Dean, not less handsomely, replied⁸.

On the 9th of April, being then Prolocutor, he, with the unanimous consent of the Lower House, appointed Dr. Bridges his Vice-prolocutor during his attendance on the Queen that month as Chaplain in ordinary, and on

¹ Vol. I. p. 453.

³ Pp. 457, 458.

⁵ P. 460.

⁸ Vol. II. p. 1.

² P. 453.

⁴ P. 459.

⁶ P. 462.

⁷ P. 467.

other extraordinary occasions¹; and in the beginning of June 1713, the Queen, at the recommendation of lord chancellor Harcourt, advanced him to the Bishoprick of Rochester, with the Deanry of Westminster *in commendam*. He was confirmed, as bishop, July 4, and consecrated at Lambeth next day. Two remarkable letters of his to Bp. Trelawney on the following day are printed in this collection².

Nothing very particular occurs, after Dr. Atterbury's elevation to the episcopal bench, but continued demonstrations of gratitude to his early patron³; a desire of good fellowship with the prebendaries of Westminster⁴; and the congratulations of Mr. Prior, then in a public capacity at Paris⁵.

But the Queen's death, which happened August 1, 1714, opened a new scene in the political world. At this period we find our learned Prelate the confidential counsellor of lord chancellor Harcourt, when at a loss to account for his neglect in not writing to the new Monarch⁶; and his advice on this occasion was that of a steady friend and a loyal subject⁷.

¹ Vol. I. p. 467.

² Vol. II. pp. 1. 2.

³ Pp. 7. 9.

⁴ P. 9.

⁵ P. 11.

⁶ P. 12.

⁷ P. 13.

The tide of prosperity, however, soon began to turn; and he received a sensible mortification presently after the coronation of King George Ist; when, upon offering to present his Majesty (with a view, no doubt, of standing better in his favour) with the chair of state and royal canopy, his perquisites as Dean of Westminster, the offer was rejected, and not, as it is said, without some evident marks of personal dislike¹.

After this event, it is certain, our Author constantly opposed the measures of the Court in the House of Lords, and drew up some of the most violent protests with his own hand.

At the very close of the year 1714, a severe pamphlet appeared against the Whigs, under the title of "English Advice to the Freeholders of England²;" which was generally attributed

¹ Which ceremony took place Oct. 20, 1714.

² Vol. II. p. 11.

³ It was not without much difficulty, and long search, that I was able to meet with a copy of this remarkable tract; which was not originally published through the medium of a bookseller, but privately dispersed through the kingdom with great industry, and immediately denominated "a malicious and traiterous libel" by royal proclamation, with a reward of 1000*l.* for the discovery of the Author; and 500*l.* for the Printer. No regular information, however, appears to have ever been received on the subject. But the pamphlet was followed by two answers, much inferior in merit, but very far exceeding

tributed to Bishop Atterbury; and which, as a literary composition, is so likely to have been the product of his pen, that it is with some regret I abstain from annexing it to the present edition of his Works. It was actually even composed for the press; but, all circumstances considered, is better, perhaps, omitted.

Some striking instances of the impetuosity of Bishop Atterbury have been noticed in their due order; particularly his offer to proclaim the Pretender¹, which was often mentioned by

exceeding it in abuse; the one, intituled, "British Advice to the Freeholders of Great Britain; being an Answer to a Treasonable Libel, &c."; the other, "Remarks on a Libel privately dispersed by the Tories, intituled, *English Advice*, &c. shewing the traitorous designs of the Faction, in putting out that villainous Pamphlet on occasion of the ensuing Elections. By the Author of the Detection of the Falsities of the Secret History of the Whole Staff." In the latter of these answers, the original pamphlet is confidently ascribed to Bp. Atterbury, Lord Bolingbroke, and Dean Swift: "If we may judge of the men by their styles in *writing* as well as *painting*, I should determine that this traitorous Libel is the joint Work of a Triumvirate, a Bishop, a quondam Secretary, and the Examiner. There is an impudence in it, that could come from nobody's pen but the latter's; a pertness, which is the characteristic of the Secretary, with an affectation of reading; and the sophistry and declamation in many parts of it shew it to have also passed under the pen of the first of them." Is not this decisive assertion very much in the blunt manner of Sir Richard Steele?

¹ Vol. II. pp. 4. 27.

the late Bishop Pearce, who appears to have been always rather severe on the memory of our Author.

His refusal to sign the "Declaration" of the Bishops might be conscientious, but was certainly imprudent¹.

His conduct also to Mr. Gibbin, an ingenious and learned clergyman at Gravesend, is not easily to be justified².

In the beginning of the year 1716 we find the Bishop giving counsel to Dean Swift, in the management of a refractory Chapter³; and in the May following he delivered his first (very excellent) Visitation Charge to the Clergy of the diocese of Rochester⁴.

In the same year we find our Prelate engaged in the useful and not least pleasing duties of his office, as Dean of Westminster; attending the school election; holding courts; letting leases; and collating to benefices⁵. At this period, however, his family seem to have been under some anxiety concerning an anonymous advertisement, which they suspected might in some way relate to him⁶.

¹ Vol. II. p. 18; and see the "Declaration" at large in the additional pages of this volume.

² P. 16.

³ P. 17.

⁴ Vol. IV. p. 339.

⁵ Vol. II. pp. 31—35.

⁶ P. 32.

His correspondence with Mr. Pope, Mr. Prior, and Bishop Trelawney, in this and the two following years, reflect equal honour on his head and on his heart.

Towards the close of 1718, he drew up a successful memorial to King George the First, relative to the re-building of the dormitory at Westminster school¹.

His correspondence with the good Dean Stanhope, on the subject of Private Baptism, is particularly worthy notice².

In 1719 he consecrated in person the new-built church at Greenwich³; and had in that year the satisfaction of securing to his son-in-law, Mr. Morice, the valuable and important office of High-bailiff of Westminster.

In 1720 an affecting correspondence occurs between the Bishop and his elder brother, who conceived himself slighted in not being presented to the Archdeaconry of Rochester⁴.

In this also and the two following years are several excellent letters which passed between the Bishop and Mr. Pope⁵; and a learned
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¹ Vol. II. p. 75. ² P. 76. ³ P. 94. ⁴ P. 98.

⁵ In one of these, dated "Bromley, Oct. 15, 1721," he says, "I never part with this place but with regret, though I generally keep here what Mr. Cowley calls the worst of company in the world, my own; and see either
ther

and interesting correspondence with Dr. Wall and Bishop Potter, on the settling of the times in which the Four Gospels were written¹.

The Protests in the House of Lords on the Quakers Bill, in 1721 and 1722, are now known to have been from our Author's pen².

In the spring of the year 1722 his attention was evidently very much engrossed by the melancholy prospect of his wife's dissolution, an event which actually took place on the 26th of April; and, on the certain expectation of which event, he tells his friend Pope, three weeks before, "I am at this moment building a vault in the Abbey for me and mine, as far from *Kings* and *Kæsars* as the space will admit of³." By this lady he had four children; Francis, who died an infant; Osborn, a student of Christ-Church⁴; Elizabeth⁵, who died

ther none beside, or, what is worse than none, some of the *Arrii* or *Sebosi* of my neighbourhood: characters which Tully paints so well in *one* of his Epistles, and complains of the too civil, but impertinent interruption they gave him in his retirement."—See this Letter at large in vol. II. p. 119; and some remarks in illustration of it in the additional notes at the end of vol. V.

¹ Vol. II. p. 211.

² Vol. V. p. 7.

³ Vol. II. p. 143.

⁴ Of whom, and of his widow and son, see several particulars in vol. II. pp. 220. 309.

⁵ See her epitaph, and her mother's, vol. II. p. 160.

Sept. 29, 1716, aged 17; and Mary, who had been then married to Mr. Morice about seven years.

On the 9th of August, the Bishop, as Dean of Westminster, officiated at the solemn funeral of the Duke of Marlborough¹; and, for the first three weeks of that month, was engaged in a friendly correspondence with Sir Robert Walpole²; but, on the 24th, on suspicion of his being concerned in a plot in favour of the Pretender, he was apprehended, and committed close prisoner to the Tower.

What share our Prelate was suspected to have had in the conspiracy, appears from the "Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons;" which charges him with "carrying on a traitorous correspondence, in order to raise an insurrection in the kingdom, and to produce foreign forces to invade it." In support of this accusation, three letters were produced, supposed to be written by the Bishop, to General Dillon, the Lord Mar, and the Pretender himself, under feigned names; which are given at large in a former volume, with some interesting illustrations from documents of undoubted authority³.

¹ Vol. II. pp. 221. 463.

² Vol. V. p. 23.

³ See particularly the note in vol. II. p. 147.

On the other hand, it is but equity to state, that the Bishop produced some striking arguments against the probability of his being engaged in such a plot, when the death of his wife was not only daily, but hourly expected; when he was carrying on buildings of various kinds at Westminster and Bromley; when he was consulting all the books of the Church of Westminster from the foundation; and was engaged also in a correspondence with two learned men, about a subject of great use and equal difficulty¹. The same subject the Bishop pursued during his exile, having consulted the Learned of all Nations; and had nearly brought the whole to a conclusion when he died².

March 11, 1722-3, it was resolved by the House of Commons, "That Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester was principally concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on, a wicked and detestable conspiracy, for invading these kingdoms with a foreign force, and for raising insurrections and a rebellion at home, in order to subvert our present happy

¹ See before, p. xxxvi.

² These laudable labours are an ample confutation of Bishop Newton's assertion, that Atterbury "wrote little, whilst in exile, but a few criticisms on French authors."

Establishment in Church and State, by placing a Popish Pretender on the Throne¹.

The commitment of a Bishop upon a suspicion of high treason, as it was a thing rarely practised since the Reformation, so it occasioned various speculations among the people. Those who were the Bishop's friends, and pretended to the greatest intimacy with him, laid the whole odium of the matter upon the Ministry. They knew the Bishop so well, they said, his love to our constitution, and attachment to the Protestant succession, his professed abhorrence of Popery, and settled contempt of the Pretender, and his caution, prudence, and circumspection, to be such, as would never allow him to engage in an attempt of subverting the Government, so hazardous in itself, and so repugnant to his principles; and, therefore, they imputed all to the malice and management of a great Minister of state or two, who were resolved to remove him on account of some personal prejudices, as well as the constant molestation he gave them in Parliament, and the particular influence and activity he had shewn in the late election. The friends to the Ministry, on the other hand, were strongly of opinion, that the Bishop was secretly a favourer

¹ See vol. IV. p. 386.

of the Pretender's cause, and had formerly been tampering with things of that nature, even in the Queen's time, and while his party was excluded from power; but, upon their re-admission, had relinquished that pursuit, and his confederates therein, and become a good subject again. They urged, that the influence which the late Duke of Ormond had over him, assisted by his own private ambition and revenge, might prompt him to many things contrary to his declared sentiments, and inconsistent with that cunning and caution which, in other cases, he was master of. And, to obviate the difficulty arising from the Bishop's aversion to Popery, and the Pretender's bigotry to that religion, they talked of a new-invented scheme of his, not to receive the Pretender, whose principles were not to be changed, but his son only, who was to be educated a Protestant in the Church of England, and the Bishop to be his guardian, and Lord-Protector of the kingdom, during his minority. These and many other speculations amused the Nation at that time; and men, as usual, judged of things by the measure of their own affections and prejudices. How far the Bishop might have been attached in his inclinations to the Stuart family, to which he might be

led by early prejudices of education, and the divided opinions of the times, is not necessary here to enquire. But that he should have been weak enough to engage in a plot so inconsistent with his station, and so clumsily devised (to say the least of it, and without entering into his solemn asseverations of innocence) is utterly inconsistent with that cunning which his enemies allowed him. The duke of Wharton, it is well known, was violent against him, till convinced by his unanswerable reasoning.

It has been said that Atterbury's wishes reached to the Bishopric of London, or even to York or Canterbury. But those who were better acquainted with his views knew that Winchester would have been much more desirable to him than either of the others. And there are persons still living, who have been told, from respectable authority, that Winchester was offered to him whenever it should become vacant (and, till that should happen, a pension of 5000*l.* a year, besides an ample provision for Mr. Morice), if he would cease to give the opposition he did to Sir Robert Walpole's administration, by his speeches and protests in the House of Lords. When that offer was rejected by the Bishop, then the contrivance for his ruin was determined on¹.

¹ See the note in vol. II. p. 4.

On the 23d of March, a bill was brought into the House of Commons, for “inflicting certain pains and penalties on Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester;” a copy of which was sent to him, with notice that he had liberty of counsel and solicitors for making his defence. Under these circumstances, the Bishop applied, by petition, to the House of Lords, for their direction and advice, as to his conduct in this conjuncture; and particularly their opinion in relation to a standing order of that House, prohibiting, under a penalty, any Lord to appear, either in person or by his counsel, before the House of Commons, to answer any accusations there. The debates among the Lords upon this occasion were many; the privileges peculiar to their House were largely insisted on; and the late encroachments made upon them by the Commons loudly complained of; but at last it was carried, by a majority of seventy-eight to thirty-two, that the Bishop, being only a Lord in Parliament, and no Peer, might, without any diminution to the honour of that House, appear, if he thought fit, in the House of Commons, and, in what manner he thought fit, make his defence and vindication there. The Bishop, however, was not pleased with this concession; nor willing to trust his
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cause,

cause, where he thought himself injured, and even prejudged.

On the 4th of April, he acquainted the Speaker of the House of Commons, by a letter, that he was determined to give that house no trouble, in relation to the Bill depending therein; but should be ready to make his defence against it, when it should be argued in another House, of which he had the honour to be a member. On the 9th the Bill passed the House of Commons, and was the same day sent up to the House of Lords for their concurrence; the tenor of which was, "That, after the first of June, 1723, he shall be deprived of all his offices, dignities, promotions, and benefices ecclesiastical, whatsoever; and that, from thenceforth, the same shall be actually void, as if he were naturally dead; that he shall for ever be disabled, and rendered incapable, from holding or enjoying any office, dignity, or emolument, within this realm, or any other his Majesty's dominions; as also from exercising any office, ecclesiastical or spiritual, whatever; that he shall suffer perpetual exile, and be for ever banished this realm, and all other his Majesty's dominions; that he shall depart out of the same by the 25th of June next; and if he return into, or be found within this

d 4 realm,

realm, or any other his Majesty's dominions, after the said 25th of June, he, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall suffer as a felon, without benefit of clergy, and shall be utterly incapable of any pardon from his Majesty, his heirs or successors: that all persons who shall be aiding and assisting to his return into this realm, or any other his Majesty's dominions, or shall conceal him within the same, being lawfully convicted thereof, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy; that if any of his Majesty's subjects (except such persons as shall be licensed for that purpose under the sign manual) shall, after the 25th of June, hold any correspondence in person with him, within this realm, or without, or by letters, messages, or otherwise, or with any person employed by him, knowing such person to be so employed, they shall, on conviction, be adjudged felons, without benefit of clergy; and, lastly, that offences against this act committed out of this realm may be tried in any county within Great Britain¹."

May 6, being the day appointed by the Lords for the first reading of the Bill, Bishop Atterbury was brought to Westminster, to make his defence. The Counsel for the Bishop were, Sir Constantine Phipps, and William Wynne,

¹ See the Act at large in vol. II. pp. 258—262.

Esq. For the King, Mr. Reeve, and Mr. Wearg. The proceedings continued above a week; and on Saturday May 11, the Bishop was permitted to plead himself; which he did in a very eloquent Speech¹; which he feelingly opens, by complaining of the uncommon severity he had experienced in the Tower; which was carried to so great a length, that not even his son-in-law, Mr. Morice, was permitted to speak to him in any nearer mode than standing in an open area, whilst the bishop looked out of a two pair of stairs window.

On Monday the 13th, he was carried for the last time, from the Tower, to hear the reply of the King's Counsel to his defence². On the 15th,

¹ This memorable Speech (re-printed in vol. IV. p. 383) was for the first time given to the publick with any thing like fidelity in 1783, as the slightest comparison with that erroneously printed in the "State Trials" will evidently shew. Since that period, however, another copy of it, in the Bishop's own handwriting, has been discovered, not substantially differing from the former one; but so exquisitely polished, as evidently demonstrates it to be his finished copy. As it would have been an act of injustice to his memory, not to have preserved this amended copy, it is annexed to the present volume, p. 365; and the former one is also preserved, for the purpose of curious comparison.

² Mr. Reeve and Mr. Wearg were both men of great sagacity in law, but of different talents in point of eloquence.

15th, the Bill was read the third time; and, after a long and warm debate, passed on the 16th, by a majority of eighty-three to forty-three. On the 27th the King confirmed it by the royal assent.

On the first of June, 1723, the Bishop obtained an especial licence from Lord Townshend, then Secretary of State, for five con-

quence. Their speeches on this occasion were made public; and they seem to have formed their "Replies," designedly, in a different way. The former sticks close to the matter in evidence, and enforces the charge against the Bishop with great strength and perspicuity. The latter answers all his objections, and refutes the arguments brought in his defence, in an easy, soft manner, and with great simplicity of reasoning. Mr. Reeve is wholly employed in facts, in comparing and uniting together circumstances, in order to corroborate the proofs of the Bishop's guilt: Mr. Wearg is chiefly taken up in silencing the complaints of the Bishop and his Counsel, and replying to every thing they advance, in order to invalidate the allegations of his innocence. The one, in short, possesses the minds of the Lords with strong convictions against the Bishop: the other dispossesses them of any favourable impression, that might possibly be made upon them by the artifice of his defence. And accordingly Mr. Reeve is strong, nervous, and enforcing; but Mr. Wearg, smooth, easy, and insinuating, both in the manner of his expression, and the turn of his periods. Mr. Wearg pays the highest compliments to the Bishop's eloquence: but, at the same time, represents it as employed to impose upon the reason, and misguide the judgement of his hearers, in proportion as it affected their passions; and he endeavours to strip the Bishop's defence of all its ornaments and colours of rhetoric.

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fidential servants to attend him beyond the seas, to continue in his service as long as they thought fit, and to return to this kingdom when discharged from their service¹.

And on the 5th a warrant was issued from the Commissioners of the Navy, for a vessel to carry the *late* Bishop, with his servants and baggage, together with Mr. Morice, his son-in-law, his wife, and servants, and Mr. Hughes, a clergyman, on board the *Aldborough*, then lying in Long Reach².

The Bishop had, previous to this event, realized some money by renewal of leases within his diocese, and by the sale of a part of his goods; and, on the 8th, the remainder of his furniture, pictures, &c. was sold by auction at the Deanry, and produced a considerable sum³.

On the 18th of June this eminent Prelate, having the day before taken leave of his friends, who, from the time of passing the bill against him, to the day of his departure, had free access to him in the Tower, embarked on board the *Aldborough* man of war, and landed the Friday following at Calais. When he went on shore, having been informed that Lord Bolingbroke, who had after the rising of the

¹ See vol. II. p. 267.

² Ibid. p. 268.

³ Ibid. pp. 269, 270.

Parliament received the King's pardon, was arrived at the same place on his return to England, he said, with an air of pleasantry, "Then I am exchanged¹!" and it was, in the opinion of Mr. Pope on the same occasion, "a sign of the Nation's being cursedly afraid of being over-run with too much politeness, when it could not regain one great man, but at the expence of another."

The severity which the Bishop had experienced did not cease even with his banishment. The same vindictive spirit pursued him in foreign climes. No British subject was even permitted to visit him without the King's sign manual; which Mr. Morice was always obliged to solicit, not only for himself, but for every one of his family whom he carried abroad with him²; and for which the fees of office were extremely high.

When Bishop Atterbury first entered upon his banishment, Brussels was the place destined for his residence; but, by the arts and instigations of the British Ministers, he was compelled to leave that place³, and retire to

¹ See the additional Notes in this volume, p. 305.

² See vol. II. pp. 279. 291. 341. 346.

³ "Nor ev'n this exile seem'd enough severe:
"To my lost Country Brussels seem'd too near."

See the Bishop's short correspondence, on this subject, with the Earl of Aylesbury, vol. II. p. 278.

Paris.

Paris. There, it is too evident, as Bishop Warburton observes on the authority of his friend Mr. Pope, that he was engaged "in the intrigues of the Pretender¹;" till, being solicited by the friends of that party to enter further into their negotiations than he thought prudent, that he might be the more out of their reach, he changed his abode for Montpellier in 1728; and, after residing there about two years, returned to Paris, where he died Feb. 15, 1731-2. The affliction which he sustained by the death of his daughter², in 1729, was thought to have hastened his own dissolution.

His body was brought over to England, accompanied with his manuscripts³, which underwent a strict examination; and was interred the 12th of May following, in Westminster Abbey, in a vault which in the year 1722 had

¹ Not to place more credit on the Letters of Sample the Spy than they really deserve, this, it must be acknowledged, is plainly demonstrated even from the Bishop's own correspondence. See on this subject the additional note in this present volume, p. 305.

² See his own affecting account of this melancholy event, vol. III. p. 73.

³ See vol. III. p. 155. It appears that the papers were actually seized; but, as no literary work of his is now to be found in the State-paper office, this valuable treasure (it is feared) is irrecoverably lost.

been

been prepared by his directions¹. The funeral was performed in a very private manner, attended only by his son-in-law Mr. Morice, and his two chaplains, Dr. Savage and Mr. Moore. There is no memorial over his grave²: nor could there well be any, unless his friends would have consented (which it is most probable they refused to do) that the words implying him to have died Bishop of Rochester should have been omitted on his tomb; an objection, however, which might easily have been removed³.

Some time before his death, he published a very satisfactory Vindication of himself, Bishop Smalridge, and Dr. Aldrich, from a charge brought against them by Mr. Oldmixon, of having altered and interpolated the copy of Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion".

Bishop Atterbury's "Sermons" are extant in four volumes in octavo: those contained in the two first were published by himself, and dedicated to his great patron Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Winchester; those in the two last were published after his death, by Dr. Thomas Moore, his Lordship's Chap-

¹ See vol. II. p. 143.

² The inscription on his urn is given in vol. III. p. 152.

³ See vol. V. p. 269.

⁴ See vol. III. p. 124. lain.

lain¹. Four admirable "Visitation Charges" accompany his "Epistolary Correspondence."

As to Bishop Atterbury's character, however the moral and political part of it may have been differently represented by opposite parties, it is universally agreed, that he was a man of great learning and uncommon abilities, a fine writer, and a most excellent preacher.

One trait, in particular, of his character cannot be too highly extolled. He remained, at all times, true to the Protestant religion, and regular in the performance of its duties².

¹ Dr. Moore, in excuse for himself, for not publishing a greater number of the Bishop's posthumous Sermons (since every one would naturally conclude that he left a great many more behind him, having been a constant preacher about twenty years, and an occasional one a great deal longer) tells us, in his Preface, that the true reason of his not doing it was this: "He (the Bishop) burnt a good many of them himself at Paris, and, by a writing found among what were left, signified that these were the only ones fit to be printed; so that, without acting contrary to the Bishop's opinion of his own performances, of which he was certainly the best judge, no more could, and therefore no more ought to be published: and it being from thence resolved, that no more should, the only effectual way (adds Dr. Moore) was, to commit the rest to the flames: which was accordingly done, in my presence, by William Morice, Esq. his dutiful and worthy son-in-law and executor."

² See Mr. Coxe's well-drawn character of him in this volume, p. 265.

His

His learned friend Smalridge, in the Speech he made, when he presented him to the Upper House of Convocation as Prolocutor, styles him, "*vir in nullo literarum genere hospes, in plerisque artibus et studiis diu et feliciter exercitatus, in maximè perfectis literarum disciplinis perfectissimus.*" In his controversial writings, he was sometimes too severe upon his adversary, and dealt rather too much in satire and invective: but this his panegyrist imputes more to the natural fervour of his wit, than to any bitterness of temper, or prepenſe malice. In his Sermons, however, he is not only every way unexceptionable, but highly to be commended. The truth is, his talent as a Preacher was ſo excellent and remarkable, that it may not be improperly ſaid, that he owed his preferment to the pulpit, nor any hard matter to trace him, through his writings, to his ſeveral promotions in the Church. In his Letters to Pope, &c. Biſhop Atterbury appears in a pleaſing light, both as a writer and as a man. In eaſe and elegance they are ſuperior to thoſe of Pope, which are more ſtudied. There are in them ſeveral beautiful references to the Claffics; and the Biſhop particularly excelled in his alluſions to ſacred as well as profane authors.

ORIGINAL LETTERS

OF

BISHOP ATTERBURY AND HIS FRIENDS.

I. To the QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY *.

THE humble petition of Francis Atterbury, Doctor in Divinity, and Dean of Carlisle †,

Sheweth,

That, your Majesty having been pleased to prefer Dr. Grahme, late Dean of Carlisle, to the deanry of Wells, your Majesty was graciously pleased to grant to your petitioner the deanry of Carlisle, supposed to be vacant by the said promotion of Dr. Grahme. Some objection being thereupon made against the form of the said grant to your petitioner; the said Dr. Grahme, on the 31st day of July last, surrendered the said deanry of Carlisle to your Majesty: after which, the signet bill

* From Harl. MSS. 2262. fol. 50.

† This letter, with the two subsequent papers, will serve completely to elucidate all the difficulties concerning the appointment of Bishop Atterbury to the deanry of Carlisle. See vol. I. p. 363.

being first amended in your Majesty's presence on the 4th of August last, and the privy seal bill likewise amended, your Majesty's letters patent were new-sealed only the 15th day of August last past, and the deanry of Carlisle was thereby granted to your petitioner, and therein alledged, as in truth it was, to be then vacant, by the resignation of the said Dr. Grahme. But the *teste* of the signet privy seal, and of the said letters patent, were not altered, and made bear date at the true time of the second sealing thereof; by reason whereof the *teste* of the letters patent is precedent to the date of the said surrender.

Your petitioner, therefore, most humbly prays your Majesty, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant your warrants, that the *teste* and *expeditur* on the signet bill may bear date at or after the aforesaid time of the amendment thereof; that the privy seal may bear date the day following; and your Majesty's said letters patent the aforesaid 15th day of August.

And your petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

FRANCIS ATTERBURY.

At the Court of St. James's, Feb. 4, 1704-5.

Her Majesty is graciously pleased to refer this petition to Mr. Attorney or Mr. Solicitor General, to consider thereof, and report his opinion what her Majesty may fitly do therein; whereupon her Majesty will disclose her farther pleasure.

Ro. HARLEY.

II. The

II. The ATTORNEY GENERAL'S Report.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

IN humble obedience to your Majesty's orders of reference in the annexed petition, I have examined the several allegations therein contained; and find that your Majesty, by your letters patent under the great seal of England, bearing date the 15th day of July, in the 3d year of your Majesty's reign, did grant to the petitioner the deanry of Carlisle, then supposed to be vacant by the promotion of Dr. Grahme from the said deanry of Carlisle to the deanry of Wells.

It being afterwards thought necessary, for preventing all doubts concerning the validity of the letters patent, that Dr. Grahme should surrender the said deanry of Carlisle to your Majesty, Dr. Grahme, on the 31st Day of July last past, did actually surrender the same to your Majesty in due form of law; after which, the signet and the privy seal were amended, and the said letters patents were also amended, and new-sealed on the 15th day of August last; but the *teste* of the signet, privy seal, and of the said letters patent, remain unaltered, notwithstanding the new-sealing thereof; by reason whereof, the letters patents, which, as amended, import a grant from your Majesty of the deanry of Carlisle to the petitioner, as void by the resignation of the said Dr. Grahme, are precedent to the said resignation. On consideration whereof, I am humbly of opinion, that the *teste* and *expeditur* of the signet bill

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may by law be amended, and made bear date at or after the time of the amendment thereof; that the *teste* of the privy seal may likewise, by your Majesty's warrant for that purpose, be rectified, and made subsequent to the *teste* of the signet, and amended to the said 15th day of August; and that, by your Majesty's warrant for that purpose to the Rt. Hon. the Lord Keeper, the *recipi* of the privy seal may be afterwards altered, and your Majesty's letters patent be made bear date the 15th day of August last, being the true time of the second sealing thereof, by which means the defect in the said letters will be rectified.

All which is nevertheless humbly submitted to your Majesty's great wisdom.

Feb. 14, 1704-5.

SIM. HARCOURT.

III. The QUEEN'S Warrant.

ANNE R.

WHEREAS, by an instrument under our privy seal, bearing date the twelfth day of July last past, we did direct the passing, under our great seal of England, letters patent for granting the deanry of Carlisle to our trusty and well-beloved Francis Atterbury, Doctor in Divinity, and one of our Chaplains in ordinary: And whereas, by reason of an amendment made by our order in the said instrument, it is necessary that the date of the privy seal be likewise altered, and, instead of the *twelfth day of July*, that the same be dated the *ninth day of August*, being the day on
which

which the said instrument passed the second time under our privy seal after the said amendment was made: And whereas the word *promoti*, in the eighth line, after the word *Wellensf.* and before the word *jam*, is omitted: Our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby authorzie and require you, that you cause the word *promoti* to be inserted between the word *Wellensf.* and the word *jam*, as aforesaid; and that you cause the date of the said instrument to be altered, by making the same bear date the ninth day of August, instead of the twelfth day of July, the present date thereof; and that thereupon you cause our privy seal to be again applied to the said instrument. And, for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given at our Court at Newmarket, the thirteenth day of April, 1705, in the fourth year of our reign.

By her Majesty's command, RO. HARLEY.

To our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor John Duke of Newcastle, our Keeper of our Privy Seal.

Indorsed, "Dean of Carlisle's privy seal to be amended."

IV. Dr. SMALRIDGE to WALTER GOUGH, Esq.

[not dated.]

"POOR Mr. Old lies a-dying. I am afraid he cannot live till this goes out of town: I am morally sure he will be gone before it reaches your hands. There goes a story here that Mr. Young *, whom the Bishop of Rochester † has made so famous, dined not

* Robert Young, who laid a false charge against Bishop Sprat in 1692.

† Bishop Sprat.

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long since at a great table on the other side the water ; and that Mr. Bromley, knight of the shire for Warwick, was then at table. I wish you would learn the truth of this from Sir Henry, and let me know it in your next. Pray give my humble service to your father ; and all our thanks to him for the great service he did us against a bill which would have swept our Universities."

G. SMALRIDGE.

V. Bp. SMALRIDGE to WALTER GOUGH, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

[1714.]

IT is with a great deal of satisfaction that I can now at last tell you that I this morning admitted Geast a student of this House, in whose behalf you was pleased to interest yourself some time ago. I had not sooner an opportunity of bestowing on him this place, and was not sure it would be ever in my power to do it, though it was always my desire. In the roll I had named my own son, because I was willing to secure to him a student's place in case of death, having little else to leave him ; but as soon as he was chose this last election at Westminster, I named Geast in his place, my son being not to come in till Christmas. All the three who are now come in by Canons election had before stood at Westminster, and been chose to Trinity College in Cambridge. I know you have that kindness for Christ Church, that you will be glad to hear that, three sides of Peckwater being some time since re-built, finished, and inhabited, the fourth side, which

which is next to the deanry, and which we intend for a College Library, is now begun, and carried this summer to a pretty good height; so that, if benefactions be not wanting to us, we may hope in two or three years to see the whole quadrangle, which the skilful say will be as fine a square as any in Europe, completed. I should be very proud of paying my respects to you here, than whom no one would be a more welcome guest at the deanry to, Sir, your affectionate friend and servant,

GEO. BRISTOL.

VI. PROTESTS ON THE QUAKERS BILL.

*** In 1721 and 1722, many of the Protests on the Journals of the House of Peers are now known to have been penned by Bishop ATTERBURY. Of these two are here selected on the subject of an act at that time passed in favour of the Quakers; with such part of the proceedings on that business as may tend to elucidate the subject.*

ON Tuesday, Jan. 9, 1721-2, their Lordships read the first time the Quakers bill; but, a motion being made, that the said bill be read a second time, the same was opposed by the Lord North and Grey. He was seconded by the Lord Bishop of Rochester, who, among other things, said, he did not know why such a distinguishing indulgence as was intended by this bill should be allowed to a set of people who were hardly Christians. To this a North British Earl answered, he wondered that Reverend Prelate should call in question,

whether the Quakers were Christians; since they were so at least by act of parliament, being included in the Toleration Act under the general denomination of Protestant Dissenters. The Bishop smartly replied, it was against the standing orders of that august assembly to make any personal reflections; and he thought it a much greater indecency to make a jest of any thing that was sacred; and that the calling the "Quakers Christians by act of parliament" was a sort of side-wind reflection upon Christianity itself. However, he would let that pass, and reserve to another opportunity what he had to offer against the bill. On the other hand, the Earl Sunderland, and the Lords Carteret and Bathurst, having spoke for a second reading, the same was ordered for the Monday following.

On Monday, Jan. 15, the Lords read the Quakers bill a second time; and a motion being made, and the question being put, that the said bill be committed, the same was opposed by the Lord Bishop of Rochester, who, according to his former assertion, endeavoured to prove that the Quakers were no Christians. His Lordship was seconded and backed by the Earl of Strafford, Lord North and Grey, Earl Coningsby, and his Grace the Archbishop of York; but they were answered by the Earl of Sunderland, the Duke of Argyle, the Bishop of Peterborough, the Earl of Ilay, and the Earl of Macclesfield; and the question being put for committing the bill, was carried in the affirmative of 64 voices against 14.

On Wednesday, the 17th, their Lordships were to go into a grand committee upon the said bill, but were prevented

prevented by an unexpected petition from some of the London Clergy, which was presented by the Lord Archbishop of York, and was as follows :

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the Clergy in and about London, with all submission, sheweth,

That there is a bill now depending in your Lordships house, intituled, " An Act for granting the people called Quakers such a form of affirmation or declaration as may remove the difficulties which many of them lie under ;" which bill, should it pass into a law, as it may in its consequences nearly affect the property of the subject in general, so it will in a more especial manner endanger the legal maintenance of the clergy by tithes ; inasmuch as the people called Quakers pretend to deny the payment of tithes upon principles of conscience ; and therefore, as your petitioners apprehend, may be under strong inducements to ease their consciences in that respect by violating them in another, when their simple affirmation on behalf of friends of the same persuasion shall pass in all courts of judicature for legal evidence.

However, the injuries that your petitioners in their private affairs may possibly suffer are, as they ought to be, of small account with them, in comparison of the mischiefs which may redound to the society from the indulgence intended, as it seems to imply, that justice may be duly administered, and government supported,
without

without the intervention of any solemn appeal to God, as a witness of the truth of what is said, by all persons, in all cases of great importance to the common welfare; whereas your petitioners are firmly persuaded, that an oath was instituted by God himself as the surest bond of fidelity among men, and hath been esteemed and found to be so by the wisdom and experience of all nations in all ages.

But that which chiefly moves your petitioners to apply to your Lordships is, their serious concern lest the minds of good men should be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of Christianity triumph, when they shall see such condescensions made by a Christian Legislature to a set of men who renounce the divine institutions of Christ, particularly that by which the faithful are initiated into his religion, and denominated Christians, and who cannot, on this account, according to the uniform judgement and practice of the Catholic Church, be deemed worthy of that sacred name.

Your petitioners, moreover, crave leave to represent to your Lordships, that, upon the best information they can get, the instances wherein any Quaker hath refused the solemn affirmation prescribed by an act in the seventh and eighth year of William III. have, from the passing that act to this day, been exceeding rare, so that there might be ground to hope that the continued use of the said solemn affirmation would, by degrees, have entirely cured that people of all those unseasonable prejudices against an oath, which the favour designed them by this Bill may tend to strengthen and confirm.

And

And your petitioners humbly leave it to your Lordship's wise deliberations, whether such an extraordinary indulgence, granted to a people already, as is conceived, too numerous, may not contribute to multiply their sect, and tempt persons to profess themselves Quakers, in order to be exempted from the obligations of oaths, and to stand upon a foot of privilege not allowed to the best Christians in the kingdom.

Your petitioners, therefore, humbly hope, that these and other considerations, which may offer themselves to your Lordships' great wisdom, may induce your Lordships not to give your consent to the passing of this Bill into a law.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Signed by the persons following :

ROBT. MOSS, D.D. preacher of Gray's-Inn (Dean of Ely).

JOHN HARRIS, Lecturer of Gray's-Inn.

JOS. WATSON, D.D. Rector of Walbrook.

SA. GATWICK, Rector of Queenhythe.

HEN. FOSTER, Curate of Bridewell.

FRA. STANARD, Curate of St. Bride's.

PHIL. VAUGHAN.

THOMAS COOCH, Curate of Aldermanbury.

LUKE MILBURN, Curate of Ludgate.

NAT. BAILY, Curate of Queenhythe.

J. BETTS, Curate of Christ Church.

JO. ABBOTT, Lecturer of St. Andrew's, Holborn.

WM. BERRYMAN, Lecturer of Allhallowes, Staining.

WM. THOROLD, Rector of Ludgate.

WM. BEDFORD, Rector of Buttolph-lane.

R. RODRICK, Rector of St. Michael, Bassishaw.

R. ALTHAM,

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R. ALTHAM, D. D. Rector of Bishopsgate.

J. PELLING, Rector of St. Anne's, Westminster.

FR. ASTRY, Rector of Garlickhythe.

J. MARSHAL, LL. D. Preacher at St. George's Chapel.

FR. BROWN, Rector of St. Margaret, Pattens.

JOS. RICHARDSON, Rector of Allhallows, London-wall.

J. HAY, Vicar of Cateaton-street.

T. WROUGHTON, Rector of St. Swithen.

J. GRASTY, Rector of Duke's Place.

J. ROPER, Rector of Coleabbey.

R. SCAR, of St. Alban's, Wood-street.

JOS. TRAPP, Lecturer of St. Martin's in the Fields.

JOHN SMITH, Rector of Aldermanbury.

The Archbishop of York spoke in behalf of this petition, and moved that it might be received and read ; but the same was opposed by the Lord Viscount Townshend; upon which there ensued a long and warm debate, that lasted till six in the evening. The Lords North and Grey, the Earl of Strafford, the Lord Bishop of Rochester, the Earl Coningsby, the Lord Trevor, the Earl Cowper, and the Lord Bathurst, supported the Archbishop of York's motion ; but the same was warmly opposed by the Lord Townshend, Earl of Scarborough, Earl of Sunderland, Lord Carteret, Duke of Argyle, Earl of Ilay, and the Lord Bishop of Peterborough. And the question being at last put thereupon, it was carried in the negative, by 60 voices against 24. Of this last number were the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and the Bishop of Rochester,
the

the rest of the Prelates then present being for rejecting the petition.

On Wednesday, Jan. 17, a motion being made, that the petition of the London Clergy against the Quakers' Bill be rejected; after debate, the question was put, whether the said petition shall be rejected?

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Dissentient.

I. Because the right of petitioning, in a legal manner, to legal purposes, does, we apprehend, appertain by law and usage to the free people of this realm, and is as essential to the subject, acting within his due bounds, as the liberty of debate is to the Constitution of Parliament. And this right, as it extends to the petitioning even for the repeal of acts now in force, by which the people think themselves aggrieved; so it justifies them yet more, in representing their humble sense of any new law, while it is under the consideration of Parliament. Nor are the Clergy, we presume, less privileged, in relation to the exercise of this right, than any other of his Majesty's subjects: on the contrary, we believe them as worthy of enjoying it, and as capable of exerting it to wise and good ends, as any rank of private men in the kingdom.

II. Because the petition rejected is, in our opinion, proper, and inoffensive, both as to the matter and manner of it; since it partly relates to the peculiar rights of the Clergy in point of tithes, and partly expresses their fears (as we conceive, not altogether groundless) lest the sect of Quakers, already too numerous, should, by this new indulgence, be greatly multiplied; and lest the

14. **ATTERBURY'S EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.**

the honour of Religion should any ways suffer, and the foundations of government be shaken by what is intended; both which it is the particular duty of their function to uphold and secure. We are not, therefore, apprehensive, that it misbecame their characters to interpose on any of these important points; and the way in which they have done it must seem to us free from exception, till some passage in their petition is pitched upon as obnoxious, and censured by the House; which, as yet, hath not been done.

III. Because the petition suggests a particular grievance under which the Clergy will suffer, by this act, more than any other order of men; which, as it had never been observed in the debates on the bill, so was allowed to deserve the consideration of the House: and therefore, had there been any other part of their petition less unexceptionable (as we apprehend there is not), yet we do not think that it was reasonable to lay aside the whole on that account, and reject what was acknowledged fit to be considered, for the sake of what was thought improper to be offered.

IV. Because the Clergy of London are not in general so liberally provided for, but that they have reason to be watchful in relation to any step that may unwarily be taken towards diminishing their maintenance; which we look upon as not duly proportioned to their labours in populous parishes, and to the various employments given them by Infidels and Hereticks, Papists, and divers sects of men dissenting from the Church established by Law, with which this metropolis is known to abound. And, as their situation gives them

them near opportunities of observing and knowing what may be stirred in Parliament to the prejudice of their order; so we cannot but think, that it becomes them to make use of that advantage in behalf of their distant brethren, as often as need shall require; especially at a time when the representatives of the Clergy are not attending in Convocation, and in a readiness to exert their known right of applying to the Legislature on all such occasions.

V. Because the London Clergy, from whence the petition came, are in our opinion, and have been always esteemed, of great consideration, with respect to their extensive influence, and their ability to be serviceable to the State in important conjunctures. From this body of men have proceeded many of the most eminent Lights of the Church, and ornaments of the Bishops' Bench, especially since the Revolution; and, in the reign preceding it, their never-to-be-forgotten labours put a stop to the torrent of Popery, then ready to overflow us. On which, and many other accounts, we cannot but wish that the applications at any time made to this House by the City Clergy might be received with regard and tenderness; and a more than ordinary indulgence allowed them, at a time when so great favours are about to be bestowed on the professed oppugners of their function and maintenance.

VI. Because, by experience, we find, that the treating in this manner a petition from any great and considerable body of men, is not the best way to allay the jealousies, and extinguish the uneasiness that occasioned it; a very contrary effect having followed (according to

to the best of our observation), from the rejecting a petition lately offered by the City of London. And the oftener such instances are repeated, the more, we fear, the disaffection of the people will increase, who, thinking themselves under hardships from which they desire to be relieved, may look upon it as a new, and yet greater hardship, not to be heard. And, though the modest and dutiful demeanor of the Clergy should no ways contribute to these consequences, yet we know not how far this may be the case with respect to their flocks; to whom their persons and characters are dear, and who may therefore be induced, by the reverence they bear to their pastors, to express as much concern on their account, as they would on their own. For which reason it was our earnest desire, that this second and, in our opinion, dangerous experiment might not have been made.

W. EBOR.	GOWER,
WESTON, E. of <i>Arran</i> ,	TREVOR,
UXBRIDGE,	BINGLEY,
SCARSDALE,	ST. JOHN DE BLETSOE,
COMPTON,	GUILDFORD,
BRISTOL,	COWPER,
CONINGSBY,	ABERDEEN,
STRAFFORD,	BATHURST,
FOLEY,	MONTJOY V. WINDSOR.
NORTH and GREY,	FR. ROFFEN.

On Friday, Jan. 19, 1721-2, "An Act for granting the people called Quakers such forms of affirmation and

and declaration, as may remove the difficulties which many of them lie under," being read the third time ;

The question was put, whether this Bill shall pass?

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Dissentient.

W. CANT. JO. OXON.

I. Because the Privileges allowed by this Bill to the Quakers are without example, and no ways proportioned to the steps formerly taken towards a gradual indulgence of them. For, whereas they have been hitherto under the real obligation of an oath, though dispensed with as to some formalities with respect to the manner of wording and taking it, they are now altogether released both from the form and substance of an oath, and admitted to profess fidelity, and give testimony upon their simple affirmation : nor are these great privileges indulged to them (as the less were) from time to time, and by degrees, but are at once made perpetual.

II. Because we look upon the Quakers, who reject the two Sacraments of Christ, and are, as far as they so do, unworthy of the name of Christians, to be on that account unworthy also of receiving such distinguishing marks of favour.

III. Because the Quakers, as they renounce the institutions of Christ, so have not given even the evidence by law required of their belief of his divinity, it no ways appearing to us (nor do we believe it can be made appear) that, ever since they were first indulged [I W. and M.], one Quaker in a hundred hath subscribed the Profession of Christian belief directed by

that act; nor could we, upon a motion made in the House, prevail that they should even now be obliged, by such previous subscription, to entitle themselves to the new and extraordinary favours designed them. The consequence of which must, in our opinion, be, that they will encourage themselves yet farther in their aversion to subscribe that profession of Christian belief; which they seem more to decline, than even the taking of an oath; since great numbers of them have sworn, though very few have subscribed that profession. Nor are we without apprehensions that it may reflect some dishonour on the Christian faith, if the evidence given by such persons on their bare word shall by law be judged of equal credit with the solemn oath of an acknowledged Christian and sincere member of the established communion.

IV. Because we look upon it as highly unreasonable, that, in a kingdom where the Nobles, the Clergy, and Commons, are obliged to swear fealty to the Crown, and even the Sovereign himself takes an oath at his coronation, a particular sect of men, who refuse to serve the State either as civil officers or soldiers, should be entirely released from that obligation; since it is natural to expect that persons thus indulged as to the manner of professing, and the measure of performing their allegiance, should by degrees be induced totally to withdraw it, till they become as bad subjects as Christians.

V. Because, though such extraordinary privileges are allowed to the sect of Quakers by this bill, yet there is no mark or test prescribed by it, or by any other act,
by

by which it may certainly be known who are Quakers, and consequently who are or are not entitled to those privileges. From whence this inconvenience may arise, that many, not really Quakers, may yet shelter themselves under the cover of that name, on purpose to be released from the obligations of oaths; it not being, we conceive, in the power of the Magistrate, as this Bill stands, to oblige any person to take an oath, who, at the time of tendering it, shall profess himself a Quaker; so that the concession now made to that sect may prove a great inlet to hypocrisy and falsehood, and will naturally tend towards increasing their numbers, which we rather wish may be every day diminished.

VI. Because we do not apprehend that the Quakers, as a sect, are really under such scruples in point of an oath, that it is necessary to ease them by such an act; few of them having, for five-and-twenty years past, since their solemn affirmation (equivalent to an oath) was enacted, ever refused to comply with it: and, should this have now and then happened, yet, when the great body of any sort of sectaries are at ease in their consciences, the scruples of a few, we think, ought not to be regarded, especially if continuing the law now in force will probably extinguish those scruples, and the repeal of it will certainly give new life and strength to them.

VII. Because the security of the subject's property, which depends upon testimony, seems to us to be lessened by this act, the reverence of an oath having been always observed to operate farther towards the discovery of truth than any other less solemn form of asseveration.

Nor can the Quakers be exempted in this case; whose awful apprehensions of an oath appear from their earnest endeavours to decline it: and therefore, where the payment of tithes, by them held to be sinful, is concerned, they will have strong inducements to disguise the truth in what they simply affirm, rather than wound their consciences and credit by contributing towards the support of such an Antichristian payment. In other cases of property, their interest only will clash with their veracity; but the double motive of interest and conscience will influence them with respect to the Clergy, whose calling and maintenance they equally condemn.

VIII. Because the inducement mentioned in the Bill towards granting the Quakers these favours, that they are well-affected to the Government (a position of which we have some doubt) might, we apprehend, be improved into a reason for granting like favours to Deists, Arians, Jews, and even to Heathens themselves; all of which may possibly be, as some of them certainly are, friends to the Government. However, their friendship, we presume, would be cultivated at too great an expence, if, for the sake of it, any thing should be done by the Legislature which might weaken the security of all Governments, an oath; and by that means do more mischief to the state in one respect, than it brought advantage in another. And we the rather thus chuse to reason, because an argument was urged in the debate, and no ways disallowed, that if Heathens themselves were equally of use to the State as the Quakers are, they ought also equally by law to be indulged: whereas our firm persuasion is, that, as no man
should

should be persecuted for his opinions in Religion, so neither should any man, who is known to avow principles destructive of Christianity, however useful he may otherwise be to the State, be encouraged, by a law purposely made in his favour, to continue in those principles.

W. EBOR.

FR. ROFFEN.

GOWER,

MONTJOY, V. *Windsor*,

STRAFFORD,

F. CESTRIENS.

ST. JOHN DE BLETSE,

SALISBURY,

ABERDEEN,

TREVOR,

COMPTON.

VII. To the RIGHT HON. ROBERT WALPOLE.

SIR,

Deanery, Aug. 4, 1722.

THE executor of your late receiver of Abbey-money has brought me an account of the said receipt and disbursement for some time past, desiring me, as a commissioner, to peruse it, in order to its being allowed. Upon casting my eye over it, I find it to be already audited, and sworn to by him, according to the course of the Exchequer. But the sub-commissioners in the former commission, either being absent, or not caring, upon some scruples they have entertained in relation to the legality of it, to act; the executor presses me for his discharge, he being bound to pass the late receiver's account in three months after his decease, which time is now near elapsed. Till this be done, none of the money lately allotted by you, Sir, to the Abbey, and now in the new receiver's hands, can

be regularly paid the workmen, who stand in great need of it, having large demands on that head. However, Sir, I am not willing to take any step, or to give myself any trouble in this case, till I know your pleasure, whether, in these circumstances, which will not, perhaps, again happen, you think it proper to have this account, thus attested and sworn, passed and signed by the commissioners themselves, as it certainly may be, upon the foot of the account. If you think so, I shall be ready, together with the new receiver, to inspect the vouchers carefully; and, having done so, and found all right, either to sign the account myself, or to lay it before you in order to its being signed by the commissioners. I would have waited on you in relation to this matter, but think this the less troublesome way of application.

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

FRA. ROFFEN.

VIII. From Mr. WALPOLE.

MY LORD,

Chelsea, Aug. 15, 1722.

I HAD the honour of your Lordship's letter concerning the accounts of the late receiver of the money given for the repairs of Westminster Abbey; which I should have immediately considered, with a disposition to concur with your Lordship, with the same readiness that I have hitherto done in every thing that related to the affairs of the Abbey, if I had not been informed of

the great uneasiness that our last proceedings had given to the Prebendaries of the Church ; which they having now reduced into writing, I send your Lordship a copy of their representation, as delivered to me, that you may be sensible of the reasons that have convinced me, not only not to proceed in the manner that I have hitherto done, but to endeavour to give them all the satisfaction that is in my power, in a case where I think they have such just reason to complain. I think myself obliged to acquaint your Lordship, that I have very freely owned, that I was surprized into the steps that I have taken ; having never had the least intimation of any former constitutions appointing sub-commissioners for the care and inspection of these works ; which being so rightly placed in the Prebendaries of the Church, I cannot but be of opinion it ought to be continued there, that I hope your Lordship will excuse me, if I concur with my Lord Chief Justice Pratt, in rectifying an error which I was inadvisably led into.

I am, &c. &c.

R. WALPOLE.

IX. To the RIGHT HON. ROBERT WALPOLE.

SIR,

Bromley, Aug. 18, 1722.

YOUR letter of Aug. 15 has, this afternoon, reached me here from the deanery ; where, I suppose, it may have lain for a day or two. The representation of the Prebendaries that you have been pleased to transmit with it, is news to me ; not one of

them having complained or spoken to me on that head ; though I should have thought that sort of application to have been most natural and regular. I lately, indeed, heard they had doubts concerning their power to act under the former sub-commission ; and I believe I mentioned them in the letter I had some time ago the honour of writing to you ; and desired only to have the accounts of the late receiver (already audited and sworn) passed by the Commissioners themselves, (as his executor pressed they might be, and brought me the books for that purpose), that the money, which hath so long been ordered, and is now in the present receiver's hands, might be paid to the poor workmen without farther delay. But I had no view towards making that the usual method of passing those accounts ; nor, I dare say, is there a word in my letter, tending that way.

On the contrary, Sir, you may be pleased to recollect, that I applied to you for a sub-commission, and proposed only a new Receiver in the room of him that is dead, and the dropping of a salary of £.100. *per annum* ; which, for many years, has been a mere honorary pension to an officer, who never has set foot within the walls of the church, nor contributed in the least towards carrying on the repairs, or inspecting the accounts. And I humbly thought, that money might be bestowed on the fabric, better, and more agreeably to the intentions for which it was given. I own, Sir, you expressed your doubts in that case concerning the expedience of such an alteration, and I immediately complied with them.

After

After I had waited on you, and you had referred me to Mr. Trecher, of the Treasury, I set myself to procure a copy of the sub-commission for him, and desired the executor of the late receiver to furnish me with it: which he for some days declined. Upon which I sent to the Treasury and to the Exchequer, but found it was not entered at either of those places. At last I litt upon an old copy of it, written in the hand of the late receiver, which I lodged with Mr. Trecher; and with him it rested for three weeks and upwards, till the new appointment of the present receiver was drawn up and engrossed; in the forming of which I had nothing to do, but sat still, and quietly expected the event. And that commission, Sir, you know, expressly refers to the sub-commission, and obliges the present receiver to conform himself to it.

Nor was I aware that a sub-commission, by which the late receiver had acted to the time of his death, was determined; especially if you, Sir, and my Lord Chief Justice, should have been pleased to endorse it, as is usual, I am told, in like cases at the Treasury. The only difference I did or do apprehend between a new sub-commission and an endorsement of the old one, is, that the number of the sub-commissioners would be fuller in the one case than the other: to which I have no manner of objection.

I shall not enter into farther particulars at present, being at a distance from my papers; but I intend to be in town on Monday, and hope for that equity from you, Sir, and from my Lord Chief Justice, that neither of you will precipitate your decision in a matter where
you

you have heard what is said on one side only. Whatever I otherwise am, yet, as Dean of Westminster, I have a right to be heard on this occasion, in which I am most immediately concerned.

If you, Sir, judge otherwise, and shall thereupon think fit to take any step hinted at in the representation, without allowing me an opportunity of laying my thoughts of it before you, though I can never join in such a measure, yet I know how to submit to it in the manner that becomes, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

FRA. ROFFEN *.

X. Circular Letter to the CLERGY of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND (supposed to be written by Dr. EDMUND GIBSON, Bishop of LINCOLN), on occasion of the Commitment of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of ROCHESTER to the TOWER †.

MY REVEREND BRETHREN,

Sept. 17, 1722.

I QUESTION not but by this time you are alarmed with a report, that the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Rochester has been, by order of the King and Council, committed to the Tower of London for high treason. The commitment of a Prelate of our

* The Bishop wrote this letter on the 18th, and on the 24th was arrested; (the particulars of which proceeding may be seen in vol. II. p. 222.)

† This letter is here given with a view of throwing every possible light on the subject in which the Bishop was so materially implicated.

Church,

Church, upon so high a charge, has been so rarely known among us since the time of the Reformation, that it may well appear surprizing; and will, I hope, create a curiosity in you of examining what I have to offer upon this important affair in the following discourse, both with respect to his Lordship and to ourselves the rest of the National Clergy.

I. That the welfare of the Church of England, and the safety and honour of all its teachers in particular, should be the constant aim and endeavour of our Government, is a thing both reasonable in itself, and highly for the interest of the publick. For my part, I have these great points as really and as much at heart as any man has, or pretends to have. I love it in its faith and its discipline, and have seen and known so many of its Clergy, men of clear reason and well-tempered candour, that I dare defy any man to produce me a Church, or even to draw up a scheme of one, which does more than this, in its real constitution, consult either the honour of God, or the knowledge of truth, or the benefit of mankind in general, and of this Nation in particular. This our Civil Governors are, I am persuaded, firmly satisfied in; they cannot desire or wish for a Church that pays more deference and submission to the State, or that does more, upon principle, take the measure of its temporal authority from the appointment of the Legislature. As it is, therefore, their interest and duty, so I verily believe it is their inclination and endeavour, carefully to support it; and it would be highly unreasonable in us to think that, whenever their censures fall upon any of our order, they act, notwithstanding

standing these two powerful motives to the contrary, upon either passion, or prejudice, or misrepresentation.

In what light this extraordinary affair may have been set before you I presume not to guess; probably in the worst, and cloathed with circumstances which may give you some suspicions that not only this Prelate's person, but his sacred office too, is disgraced by this commitment. But I take the liberty to affirm, because I may do it with truth, that the distinction of a private and a public character was well observed upon this occasion; and that he met with all the civility, I may say tenderness, which could possibly be shewn to any one under circumstances resembling his: for the persons directed by order of the King and Council to seize his Lordship and his papers received a strict command to treat him with respect and reverence. When examined by a Committee of Council, he was permitted to sit down, and was heard with patience and respectful attention in all that he had to offer on his behalf; and, what was more unusual, he was allowed, after that he had withdrawn himself, to enter twice in the Council-room, and there either alledge or request something in his favour. When he was committed, no marks of triumph on the side of Government attended him to the Tower; but, as the heart of an unhappy man would wish, he passed privately, and without any guards, to that which is the most honourable place of confinement.

Such an indulgence, upon a charge of so heinous a nature, shewn by the Government (after that it has experienced from the last Rebellion how mercy may be thrown away upon, and even misused by, the stubborn
and

and unthankful,) to one of the Episcopal order, and who is therefore, if guilty, more inexcusably guilty; especially to one of such figure in the world on many accounts, as that men will generally suppose him, if concerned in any conspiracy, to have taken no less share in it than the contrivance and conduct of the whole: such an indulgence, I say, when rightly considered, may go a great way in appeasing those little jealousies and suspicions which you did perhaps harbour within you upon the first receipt of this news. I know that it is natural for men of all societies, even of incorporated trades, though never so mean in the esteem of the world, to be alarmed at any thing which may seem to reflect dishonour on them as a body, or which brings the persons of their particular governors in danger; for, where there is an union of interest, there is always a common jealousy of danger: but why should not we, gentlemen, who are bred up to letters, and have received that generous education in our Universities, which is usually thought not unworthy the youth of the highest quality? why should not we, who understand how to distinguish and separate those things in our minds, which the unwise and unlearned confound; see clearly that it may be reasonable and necessary for the Government to animadvert from one of our order, even in the strictest manner, at the same time that it reverences the holy function with which he is invested? Besides the obvious reflection, that his Majesty during his whole reign has paid a strict and conscientious regard to the rights and property of every one of his subjects; I say, besides this, there are two or three con-

siderations

siderations which do weigh much with me, and incline me to think, that nothing but justice and the necessity of state moved our Civil Governors to act in this manner.

The one of which is, the great respect which the order of Bishops does now meet with at Court, above what was ever known to have been paid them in former reigns. It has been his Majesty's continual and prudent rule, to consult or be directed by his Bishops in the disposal of his preferments of every rank in the Church : they have frequently recommended, and succeeded in their recommendation ; they have always had the liberty of giving their advice upon this subject ; and hardly one instance has been known, where any employment of considerable influence in the Church has been filled without the consent and approbation of some at least out of that venerable body : and this is such a condescending behaviour in his Majesty, as I am sure all Ecclesiastics, even those who dislike the channel in which the stream of preferments runs at present, must be pleased with, as the best method for us in the general, and as a fair pattern which he sets to his successors. What can we wish for more than to have the ordering of our interests in our own hands ? what can be more engaging in his Majesty, or shew a greater trust placed in, and deference paid to, the judgement of his Bishops, than to share (as it were) this his Royal Prerogative with them, and make himself in this particular but a kind of executor of their pleasure ? Here then let us rejoice upon a view of the happiness of our Church, and reject with scorn that promise which he, the

the Mock-majesty at Rome, is said by his adherents to have made, "that, if ever he be restored, the disposal of all bishopricks and other ecclesiastical preferments belonging to the Crown shall be lodged in the hands of the Bishops." — Why, we have this privilege already, we possess it, we feel the happy effects of it: for my part (not to mention that perhaps this mighty Promiser means the Bishop of Rome and other Popish Bishops now concealed among us, as those with whom he intends to lodge this right of disposal), I say, for my part, I will never depend upon him for the performance of promises, who, if he comes, must come with a sword in his hand; and I should expect soon to see, that, as Milton expresses it better than I can do,

—— "Ease would recant

"Vows made in pain, as violent and void *:"

However, at best I must call in question that man's discretion, who would give up the writings of his estate, which are now in his own keeping, in a comfortable hope of hereafter receiving them safely back again.

The other consideration, which, as I said, inclines me strongly to believe that only justice and the necessity of the state moved our Civil Governors in this important affair, is, that till the time of this discovery his Lordship has had a full weight of regard and respect paid to his merit at Court, and in the Council of the nation. Whatever applications he has made to his present Majesty (and some he has made) have been always received, and answered favourably. Whenever,

* Paradise Lost, Book IV.

in the honourable Assembly of Peers, he delivered his opinion about the public affairs of the nation, even when he opposed all the measures and endeavours of the Ministers of State, they were always observed to answer his arguments with candour and good-manners; and, though he usually expressed himself with all the elegance of language, with all the justness of delivery, and in the most decent gesture of an orator, yet was it the civility of his audience, more than the weight of his eloquence, which gained him attention: for eloquence is a blunt tool with men of reason, when it comes from a suspected person; it is indeed a sharp arrow, and a poisoned one too, when it is in the hands of him whose designs are evil, and not known to be so; and therefore, as it is what scarcely one in a thousand can ever arrive at, so scarcely one in ten thousand can safely be trusted with it.

I may add another consideration, which should dispose even the most disaffected subject to think that this commitment had a just and even a necessary foundation; I mean, the unpopular view in which such an action uses to appear among us: it is not many years since the impeachment of one of our order, inferior to this Prelate in station, but much more so in personal abilities, alarmed and almost turned upside-down this nation; the men then in power felt the weight of it, and saw (but too late, when they were forced out of their high stations) that the reverence which men pay us rises in proportion to our distress, and that it is much safer, at some seasons, to lay the loins of the law upon a Layman, than the little finger of it upon a Clergyman.

This

This rock upon which they then split, and the storms which were then raised about them by the breath of popular clamours and discontents, are no doubt still fresh in their minds: and no one can imagine that, under less than an absolute necessity, or for a weaker reason than the imminent danger of the State, they would be willing to steer a course that has any resemblance to the former, and run the hazard of a second state shipwreck.

However it must be considered that the commitment of this Prelate differs highly from the above-mentioned case, and from that of the Seven Bishops in a late reign; the Doctor was censured for something spoken in one of his sermons, that is, for something thought blameable in the immediate execution of his office as a Clergyman; but this Prelate is charged with designs and actions allowed by all to be wholly foreign to his function. The Seven Bishops were guilty of nothing but only presenting in a decent and respectful manner their petition to King James II. and were without pity committed to the Tower, when their case was in its natureailable; but the charge against this Prelate is no less than that of high treason, no less than an endeavour to subvert the present Royal Family, and to put all our rights and properties in confusion. His Lordship is so sensible that this crime is not in its natureailable (unless on default of the Government to bring him to trial), that I verily believe he has not once attempted or entertained a hope that he might be admitted to bail.

But, if any discovery has been lately made, I mean not of general disaffection to this Royal Family, nor of any attempts and offers immediately upon the death of the late Queen, but of designs lately formed by him, in conjunction with others, to subvert our Constitution, and place upon our Imperial Throne one grown up under the very wing of the Papal See, with only a bare possibility of preserving to ourselves, upon his hostile approach, either our liberties as Britons, or our religion as Protestants; should he, I say, be discovered to have attempted or any way contributed to this black design, nay, should the Government only have strong and well-grounded suspicions of his having attempted it, there is no considering man, I am sure there is no good subject, but must see clearly not only the justifiableness but even the necessity of his commitment; I mean of his commitment to the Tower: for to have confined him in his own house would have been unsafe for the Government; to have delivered him over to the care of a messenger would have been disparaging to him; and both would have been unusual and contrary to the known forms of proceeding in matters of high treason.

Upon such a discovery, should any such be made, we might say, happy had it been for his Lordship, if, in the midst of that plenty and honour which he enjoyed, he could have made a full meal of happiness upon them; but more happy are we, the Clergy of the Church of England, for upon us the first fury of triumphant Popery is ever likely to fall: the shepherds
 4 must

must be removed before the flocks can be dispersed : and we have great reason, therefore, to take up the same form of thanksgiving-words which this very Prelate used, upon a like occasion, in one of his Sermons preached at Court in the late King William's reign ; and say, " Blessed be God, who did not utterly cast out our prayers and supplications, but delayed only to answer them till a day of Salvation, till an acceptable time, when we were alarmed with invasions from abroad and conspiracies at home, and when men threatened to swallow us up quick."

I presume that there is no Protestant among us who believes that a Bishop, as a Bishop, is or ought to be exempt from civil enquiries : that erroneous notion was banished from our Isle with Popery long ago ; and the King's supremacy over all his subjects is not doubted by any member of our Church : indeed, while a Prelate acts within his proper sphere, a larger portion of respect is his due ; the Government, as well as private men, ought not rashly to suspect or take up an accusation against him ; for the integrity of his character is the best support of that authority which he ought to have, in order to govern well those who are in his diocese and under his episcopal inspection. This he has a right to from Scripture and by the reasons of state : but whenever any one of that high station acts contrary to his religious character, and foment civil wars, and strikes at the establishment of his country, it is his interest that his sacred office be not regarded in the question, lest it serve only to aggravate the crimes proved upon him, or (to speak the language of the

great St. Paul) to make his sin exceeding sinful. It may be considered farther, that a conspiracy is equally dangerous to the Government, whether it be carried on by lay or episcopal hands, by one that wears a sword, or a habit of lawn. That State must be unwise to a proverb, which will not take the same necessary precautions against the one as the other; for the care of the publick is above any private regard, because it includes in it all other relations, whether natural, civil, or ecclesiastical. His Lordship, indeed, is almost the first Prelate, since the Reformation, who has seen the Tower upon such an occasion as this; and the novelty of the thing, which now alarms us, ought in reason to be esteemed the glory of our Church: had this sight been more common, we should have been less surprized now, but more ashamed in the general. For my part, I cannot but look upon this as an instance of steady and impartial justice, such as every government ought to observe: and I would not wish myself a member of a more Platonic commonwealth, than where every man who enters into such measures as endanger my liberty, my property, or my religion, be he civil or sacred, wear he a garter or a mitre, is, upon discovery of his designs, brought to a fair trial, and does, upon conviction, pay that debt of punishment, which the known laws of his country demand.

Having now given you this account of the affair before us, which may perhaps be satisfactory to those of you who live in the remote parts of this kingdom, and to whom common reports do usually come with some mixture of untruth, if not of malicious falsehood; it will, I hope, appear to you (for this is the substance of

of

of what I have said) that it is the interest and inclination of the present Ministry to consult the honour of our Church; that in particular his Lordship was at his commitment treated with all decent civility and respect by the Government; that our Bishops were never more esteemed and trusted at Court than they now are, and therefore no prejudice is there harboured against his episcopal character; that no man had more regard paid to him by the Court and the Ministers of State than his Lordship had, and therefore we cannot suppose them to be prepossessed against his personal character; that nothing but necessity could have induced them to this action, which is in its nature so unpopular, and has been in a former case dangerous; and, lastly, that the justice and safety of the Nation requires that all delinquents be considered and censured as delinquents, without any regard to the office, or title, or honour, which they bear.

II. And now let me address myself more immediately to you, my brethren and fellow-labourers in the service of Religion; and I have two requests to make to you. The first is to those of you (and the number I trust is very large) who do submit to his present Majesty's government for conscience sake, that you will, by your more earnest endeavours, for the future, to support our Constitution, wipe off the stain which our order has received from this melancholy accident; the other request is to those of you who wish for a change, that you will consider from hence how dangerous all plots are to the contrivers of them, and what a silly purchase

you will have made, if ever your wishes and attempts should prove successful.

1. To the first sort of you, I mean the friends of our Establishment, give me leave to represent that with too many men we lie under the scandal of being a restless and ungovernable body. The charge, I know, is not a true one; but it would grieve the heart of a good man to find that there should be any the least handle for such an unworthy aspersion; for sedition and treason in a Clergyman is an accumulated crime, it is a whole cluster of sins in one, and has many more aggravations when committed by us than by any others; for,

We have all solemnly dedicated ourselves to the Ministry of holy things; we have turned our backs upon the cares of a secular calling, and have confined ourselves to the more immediate service of Religion: so that for us to be concerned in public affairs which are not made part of our duty by the laws, even though we should act in them uprightly, is hardly justifiable, and may well seem a temporary departure from the business of our calling: besides, we, the inferior Clergy, know so little of facts, the very discharge of our duty puts us so out of the way of knowing the truth of State facts, that therefore we never had yet much reputation for our skill in judging of public matters: why then should we quit that sacred province, in which our fellow-subjects will easily allow us to be able judges, of Divinity, for that in which (let us confess it freely, for all the world knows it, and I think it our credit) we are not, we cannot well be judges, of Politics?

We

We are all men appointed to promote the peace of mankind, and to preach the doctrines of obedience to the higher powers in being, and of mutual love and good-will towards one another; and can it seem less than a vile hypocrisy, or a direct disbelief of the great truths of Scripture, if we give any just occasion for our Civil Governors to suspect us as seditious and disaffected subjects? We say (and rightly too), in our sermons, that we are an order of men necessary to Government; let us then by our actions prove this truth to those who think otherwise of us: we are, some of us, eloquent and copious enough in proving that society cannot long subsist without Teachers of Religion; let us then, I beseech you, make it visible to all men, that we endeavour to support the society in which we are so happily planted, and labour with all our power to disappoint the attempts of those who would overturn it! We of all men do with an ill grace endeavour to work up our audience into fury, especially against the State; it is the very reverse of our profession, and is just such a solecism in Divinity as superstition in Philosophy.

We are to consider ourselves still farther as (in some sort) pensioners of the State which we live in. Lest this be not understood as it is meant, give me leave to express myself more clearly by saying, that, though we have a claim from Scripture and Reason for a maintenance in the labour of the Gospel, yet the particular assignment of that portion which we enjoy is the free-gift of our Government; or, if any one will make a difficulty in allowing this, yet he cannot deny that the large revenues, as well as the honours and privileges

attending the higher stations of the Church, do entirely flow from the bounty of our laws, and are the pensions which a wise society pays to its distinguished Ecclesiastics, for the reward of their uncommon piety and learning, and of the pattern which they are supposed to give of submission to their Civil Governors. Some of us enjoy not only what is necessary for the supporting us in the sacred business of our calling, but have an abundance sufficient to make us sit down in the rank of the great and wealthy, and to enable us to become ourselves patrons and benefactors to merit in distress. And I have often thought, that, if some among us, who have been the warmest advocates for the Divine Right of our incomes, were strictly to take the measures of them from what is said concerning them in the Gospel, they would lose at least one half of their revenues in the dangerous experiment, and perhaps have but the tithe left them of what they now enjoy from the munificence of the Legislature. This, therefore, is an argument of much weight, and may teach us, that, as our Civil Governors are our benefactors, whoever resists them must appear basely unthankful, and cannot shake off his obedience without taking upon himself a full load of the infamy of ingratitude.

After all these ties, which no Teacher of the Gospel, no grateful man can break through, we must seriously and frequently consider farther, that we are all bound by the most solemn oaths of allegiance and abjuration. We have all in open Court, before multitudes of witnesses, in the presence of public magistrates, with a loud voice, "declared in our conscience, before God

and the world, that our Sovereign Lord King George is lawful and rightful King of this Realm; that we do believe in our conscience that the Pretender hath not any right or title whatsoever to the Crown of this Realm; that we do renounce, refuse, and abjure, any allegiance or obedience to him; that we will bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty King George, &c.; that all these things we do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the express words by us spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever." Nay, we have gone farther than all this, and have sworn (for with this the oath closes, and our subscription to it is upon record), that we "do make this recognition, acknowledgement, abjuration, renunciation, and promise, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian." And now that this Gordian knot is fastened on our consciences, which no art or time can loose, nothing but violence and wickedness can cut, how must we appear to the world, how black, how detestable, if we act contrary to this second engagement! How much must the Christian Religion, how much must even Natural Religion, be weakened by such a behaviour in us! Believe me, brethren, that no imputation, no stain, can stick so fast to our Church as this; it is a stab almost in a vital part, and only a visible contrary behaviour in us can be the effectual remedy in a case of so much danger.

We cannot, indeed, help the faults of a few, very few, I hope, among us, who have transferred their
obedience

obedience to one in another country, and gone so far for an object of it as the very bottom of Popery. Let them answer for themselves with their fortunes and their lives, if need requires; but this we may do, we may shew that the corruption is not general, and that the ill humours have not spread themselves through all or many parts of the ecclesiastical body. I cannot but in reason, as well as charity, firmly believe, that there are many thousands among us, who have never yet bowed the knee of homage, no not in intention, to the Italian Baal; to such therefore I speak at present, and conjure them, by all that is sacred and dear to them, that they will from henceforward exert themselves in all wise and discreet manner, and testify, both by their actions and discourses, that their allegiance is still unshaken, and that it has reason and conscience in them for its support; for now, when the reputation of our Church, as well as the duty of a subject, calls upon us, now to be silent is to help forward the scandal; and to be backward in promoting Loyalty is almost to rebel against not only the State but our Religion too.

I know well enough, that many of us, who, in our hearts, are faithful subjects, by living in remote parts of the nation, and by hearing every public action misrepresented, or ill-told at that distance, have entertained little jealousies about the designs of some in the Administration: and I should more regard this if there ever was a time in any reign when the case was otherwise. Call back the memory of any the most beloved Prince, and see whether his subjects, who were placed far out of sight of the scene of affairs, and who knew
nothing

nothing but by uncertain hearſay, did not even in his days ſuſpect and murmur, or give themſelves the greater liberty of complaints and outcries about the actions and deſigns of their ſuperiors. Though then the good or ill management of the State was the only queſtion; but now we are concerned about no leſs a matter than the change of the whole Conſtitution; and men who have this avowed aim will naturally be more active to increaſe the natural jealousies and ſuſpicions: ſo that, all abatements being made, and the murmurs of thoſe who wiſh for the Pretender being deducted (for ſuch men would equally rail at any King, except their own), I do not know but we have a leſs proportion of clamours and diſcontents now prevailing among us, than ever we had.

We are all perſons of ſome experience in the world, and have gained a knowledge of men as well as of books; we cannot therefore but have obſerved, how eaſily and how generally the actions of Princes and affairs of State are miſrepreſented: "The heart of Kings is unſearchable," ſaid one of our divine heroes in wiſdom, I mean Solomon; and he ſpoke truth; for the intentions of private men, much more of thoſe who move in the higheſt ſphere, are undiscoverable; they may have been evil, though attended with a good event to the publick; and they may have been good, though not rewarded with an anſwerable ſucceſs. This reflection therefore may ſerve to inſtruct us, that we ought not to entertain uncharitable thoughts concerning the thoughts of others; ſince, at the very time that we do this, we read a lecture to ourſelves upon the folly of
it,

it, in venturing at it merely on a knowledge that we are safe, and that our thoughts cannot be discovered by them. We, who live nearer to the great scene of public business, see with what disadvantage of story, with what trick of misreport, most of the actions and all the designs of statesmen are published among the vulgar: and it requires no common penetration to see how little credit the histories of former ages do generally deserve, when we can know so little of the real and undisguised truth of our own: but some things cannot be misrepresented or mistaken; a man may judge aright of what he feels and sees: I call upon you, therefore, in the most solemn manner, to sit down calmly, and to spend a few minutes in examining within yourselves, whether, since his Majesty's first arrival among us, our Religion does not stand upon the very same firm establishment as formerly. Is its faith, or its discipline, in any one single instance, changed? Has not his Majesty, by his royal assurances and injunctions, frequently declared his resolution to support our Church in its present form, and called upon us not to speak and act against its sacred doctrines and decent discipline? Produce an instance of the contrary, if you can; but let not suspicion, let not imagination, pass for argument in a case of this importance. To come a little more home to ourselves, do any of us find that we have not the same rights and revenues as usually? Do any of us meet with disturbance or discouragement, when we act within our circle, and preach up the doctrinal or practical points of our Religion? or do any of us discover a decay of respect and reverence towards us in our neighbours, while we con-

fine

fine ourselves to the labour of love, and are exercised about the proper allowed business of our calling? Nothing of all this can be alledged by us; and therefore I must believe that this general discontent (which all men see too visibly) is a kind of vapours in the nation. It is sick of one knows not what, and to be cured one almost knows not how: but the consequences of it may in time be fatal, for he who murmurs forwards the business of him who rebels, and the breach of the complaining subject blows that public fire which the hand of the traitor is kindling.

2. Before I finish this discourse, I have one request more to make, and it is to those among us (very few, I trust, in number) who wish for a change, and not only desire but attempt a rebellion: I shall not use with such as you, gentlemen, the arguments which I have just now enforced; for what is your calling, what is gratitude, what is the obligation of oaths to you? Vain and idle names in your opinion; ties only upon the scrupulous and unenterprising! Well, be it allowed so for once; I have still material arguments to offer you, even your interest and your safety, and the poorness of the prize for the sake of which you set your lives and your fortunes, the happiness of yourselves and your posterity, at stake. I will suppose you now, as under no one obligation to his present Majesty more than to the Pretender; as left to act wholly upon the principles of prudence and discretion; and I doubt not to convince you (at least to make it out clearly, whether you will be convinced or no), that you ought to sit down quietly under the present Administration, and be content with it, even in the ill
light

light in which you see it, rather than run the greatest of hazards in favour of one of the least promising restorations.

You see from present instances, and from the accounts of almost all former times, that plots are generally unsuccessful: they are the unfairest game which men can play at: the most cheating lottery which they can be engaged in: the prospect of great profits and high prizes to be gained by them does too often ensnare the unwary and unexperienced: but, for one that has ever in any age succeeded, an hundred have miscarried: they require so many accomplices, so many expert to contrive, and active to manage: who are almost all men of neither honour nor probity, and men of such various tempers, and of such differing degrees of firmness and resolution, that it is almost next to a miracle, if no disappointment befall them, or no timely discovery be made of the conspiracy: one is desirous to have a larger share in the management of the scheme, than another is willing to allow him; one is suspicious of the courage of his accomplice to go through the design without wavering; another, perhaps, is jealous, that though he has courage enough, yet he has not the gift of secrecy; and every one has this ill fate hanging on him, that he is not only to guard himself from the suspicion of the State, but from the treachery of his fellow traitors; so that every man thus engaged plots, in some sort, against his brother plotter, and endeavours to be as much disguised and concealed from this his friend, as from his enemy, the State: no wonder then that under all these disadvantages so few seeds of rebellion rise up, when so
many

many are daily sowed.—Come now and let us reason together; if this be the precarious and slippery condition of all plots against the publick, will a wise man venture all that is dear to him in so rotten and so unpromising a bottom? Is not the loss of life and estate the known effect of a miscarriage in things of this nature? Or, is it not worth a traitor's while to reflect, that (if he sets himself and his fortunes at low value) yet he runs a dangerous hazard of leaving his widow in sorrow and want, and his children heirs to nothing but the infamy of their father?

But suppose that his plots should prove successful: suppose the Pretender was peaceably placed upon the throne of this nation: what is likely to be the mighty reward of this traitor's hazardous labour? Do not we all know, that, after the Restoration of King Charles the Second, past services were neglected, the greatest part of those who suffered for him and effected his return were forgotten, and the maxim of State was at that time, "Gain your powerful enemies over to your interest, your friends are yours already:" and who knows but this doctrine in politics might again prevail? At least who does not know, that in such cases the more conspicuous merit of a few leaders swallows up all the merit and all the reward of the multitude of inferiors? Let us imagine then that you have your King here put in quiet possession of this Crown, and yourselves have gained your wishes, but missed of your recompense: what sort of Monarch then is this likely to prove? How much fitter to promote the public good, than his present

sent Majesty? Or, how are murmurs and complaints likely to cease in this fancied golden age?

In the first place, remember that the Pretender is a foreigner, and more so than the most spiteful among you can charge his present Majesty with being: our King has lived now above eight years among us, and has had all possible opportunities of knowing our interests and the nature of our Constitution, not from books, but experience. The Pretender was never in any part of Great Britain, except a few months here in his earliest infancy; and, since, a few days in an obscure corner of Scotland, made remarkable chiefly by his infamous flight and desertion of his best friends, in the worst article of danger: he hardly knows what an English face is, except from the dejected and repining ones of some few (for almost all his Ministers and Favourites are Scotchmen) about his Court at Rome; and is wholly a stranger to that cheerfulness (the effect of plenty and freedom) with which most men do and every man may sit down here in his own house, under his present Majesty King George's happy Administration.

It ought much to be considered, that the Pretender has never sojourned in any nation where the King was not arbitrary, and the body of the subjects miserable in comparison with ours: Tyranny he may have learned, but not the gentle government of a limited Monarch: he may have seen what it is for a Prince to be powerful, but not what it is for the subjects to be happy: and possibly he may think, that, since we are happy people, it is to our happiness that he has owed all his misfortunes,

misfortunes, and that therefore it will be his interest to lessen it as soon as he is able.

Nor is it less to be considered, that continual disappointments must have sowed whatever natural cheerfulness or tenderness of mind he had : he would come hither freighted with a full measure of resentment and revenge, and breathing anger and fury against all ranks of men among us ; though not perhaps to be vented immediately, yet to be shewn visibly upon the first opportunity of putting the inflamed thoughts of his heart in execution :

Κρείσσων γὰρ βασιλεὺς, ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρη·
 Εἵπερ γὰρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καλαπέψῃ,
 Ἄλλὰ γε καὶ μελόπισθεν ἔχει κότον, ὅφρα τελέσῃ,
 Ἐν σήθεσσιν ἐοῖσι *.

Homer, Il. A. 80.

Nor less, that he must have large demands upon our estates (upon the estates of all of us in general) for the satisfying his debts contracted with almost every Popish Prince in Europe, and with almost every substantial Papist here in Great Britain ; who will all, no doubt, foreign princes especially, set down to his account the pensions they have paid him, and the sums they have advanced him, as so many debts to be discharged, when they find him in a capacity to repay them.

Nor less, that with him must be restored and released from their outlawry a set of poor and ill-clothed Cour-

- * “ And still unequal is a subject's strife,
 “ Match'd with a monarch who commands his life :
 “ For, though he seems his anger to digest,
 “ He keeps the rancour in his mindful breast.”

MAYNWARING.

tiers and Ministers of State, some of them wholly unknown to us, and others too well known to be admired; all having long since seen the last of their money and their credit too; and therefore having, besides their resentments to gratify, large wants to be supplied, and being not only hungry after our riches, but even greedy and ravenous. A restoration, therefore, of such as these would have every part, except the name, of a destruction; and we should have, I fear, too fatal a reason to apply to them, what Cicero spoke concerning some of the Roman Generals in his time, *ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum non multum ab hostili expugnatione differunt* *.

Nor less, that he comes, if ever he comes, a Papist, and that from Rome itself, the mother of Popery: zealous for the advancement of a Religion, which can no more subsist or keep fair terms with ours, than the element of fire can with water. Popery, though now prohibited and discountenanced among us, is an active and restless thing: and do we think that those, who are stirring in adversity, will not be insolent in prosperity? Can we imagine that the members of that Church have less courage when conquerors, than when subdued; when triumphant, than when kept under subjection?

Think, therefore, and reflect within yourselves, I entreat you, whether it be not highly probable, that the condition of the Nation, nay that your own happiness will not be mended and improved even upon this change of Monarchs, which you so warmly desire: for are not pensions and bribes then, when the Court will be made up of the poor and the needy, more likely

* Orat. pro Lege Manil.

to be matter of general complaint than now? Should we not be then more jealous of encouragement given to Papists under the reign of a professed Papist, than we are now of encouragement given to Dissenters under that of a professed Member of our Church? Would all plots, think ye, and conspiracies then cease? or, should we not even then be continually alarmed with new troubles and reports of new commotions? Would none, do you believe, have the spirit, the bravery (for such I will venture to call it), to attempt the replacing our British scepter in a Hanover hand, and the recalling a reign under which we have experienced the sweets of freedom in our civil and ecclesiastical condition? Assure yourselves that there are clear heads, and warm hearts, and active hands, on the side where our present duty lies; and,

“Euryale, audendum dextra*,”

will be the motto which many a zealous lover of his Protestant King and Protestant Religion will then constantly wear about his heart.

But I have hitherto shewed you only the best side of the prospect, by supposing the Pretender's return to be a quiet and a peaceable one. This is not likely to happen; it is more probable, nay it is certain in all human appearance, that his arrival must be attended with battles and sieges, and must (to use the words of our inimitable Shakespear) “let loose the dogs of war.”

It is not in the nature of his present Majesty easily to fear, nor in the hearts of his faithful subjects to desert

* Virg. *Æn.* ix. 320.

him in the season of danger. All the Protestant States in Europe are bound by interest, and many Catholic Princes by treaties, not only to countenance, but to assist him with their forces against all foreign pretensions to his throne and title: then will tumults and alarms be loudly heard among us; then will all the evils of civil rage and wars be felt by us; will the blood of countrymen and kinsmen be spilt, and even the Conquerors themselves will stand on the Field of battle, crowned with a melancholy victory, and stained all over with the infamous marks of slaughter, murder, and parricide.—But I will pursue this unwelcome thought no farther; it is enough to make a better head than mine giddy at the reflection.

Upon the foresight, therefore, of all these things, which in such a case are likely to happen, methinks a considering Nonjuror, or even a good-natured and public-spirited Papist, should repine at the prospect of so melancholy a day, and scarce wish to receive him, whom in his conscience he believes to be his rightful King, upon terms of such disadvantage to his Country; at least I must suppose, and I do firmly believe, that those of our order, who do now at a distance hope for the arrival of that Idol of Majesty, would be frightened and displeased at the near approach and presence of it; they would change their tale with the weary labourer in the fable, who had called upon Death; and would wish the invoked danger was once gone, and the fancied burthen well laid on their shoulders again.

In a view, therefore, of your interest (for conscience is here out of the question with you, who have broken
through

through the most solemn oaths, and therefore cannot pretend to be conscientious), I say, for the sake of your visible interest, sit down in quiet, and attempt nothing against the Government, though you do not approve of it; or, if you have still any regard for conscience, consider the following argument: should the Pretender ever gain admittance here, he cannot censure your submission to the powers in being; because it is provided by an act of Henry VII. that none shall be deemed a rebel, who acts against a dispossessed Prince, in favour of him who is in actual possession of the name and office of King: nay, his present Majesty then has a legal right to the submission even of those who think another to be the rightful heir of the Crown; and though you should be fully persuaded that no laws, no reasons of public safety, can exclude the Pretender, yet may you satisfy your scruples in paying obedience, because it is a legal one, to the present Establishment; "wherefore" (for I may from hence justly draw the Apostle's conclusion) "ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake." But, should you miscarry in your attempts, who can promise that even this merciful Sovereign, whom your rebellions do daily provoke, will not turn his despised clemency into a necessary rigour? When the hatchet or the halter stands prepared for you; when no pardons or reprieves can, in justice to the publick, be any longer indulged you; when his Majesty shall be forced to put on the stern countenance of severity, which nothing but necessity can make him wear; then we may pity you as misguided men, but we cannot be otherwise than pleased

with your fate, as you are conspirators against our safety; and the gentlest reproof, which we can afford you as your last farewell, will be that beautiful apostrophe, which Virgil has used upon mentioning the punishment of a traitor against the State of Rome,

“—— At tu dictis, Albane, maneres *.”

XI. ROBERT WALPOLE, Esq. to Lord TOWNSHEND,

Whitehall, June 20, 1723.

THE late Bishop of Rochester went away on Tuesday. The crowd that attended him before his embarkation was not more than was expected†; but great numbers of boats attended him to the ship's side. Nothing very extraordinary, but the Duke of Wharton's behaviour, who went on board the vessel with him; and a free conversation 'betwixt his Holiness and Williamson; with menaces of a day of vengeance.

XII.

* Virg. *Æn.* viii. 643.

† “The commitment of the Bishop of Rochester to the Tower had occasioned great clamours. Under pretence of his being afflicted with the gout, he was publicly prayed for in most of the churches of London and Westminster; and a print of him was circulated, in which he was represented looking through the grate of a prison, and holding in his hand a portrait of Archbishop Laud, with some verses, commiserating his situation, and calling him

——— “a second Laud,
“Whose Christian courage nothing fears but God.”

“It was also apprehended, that his removal on board the ship which was to convey him into banishment would have been the signal of insurrection; but no tumults took place. Many reports have been circulated concerning the severity
with

XII. From MR. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Amiens, Thursday night, Jan. 17, 1725-6.

YOU have had accounts from me of our journey as far as St. Just. It was with difficulty we got Mr. Panton's chaise put in order there; however, it was done well enough for us to venture forward, as we did early this morning, and got to Amiens a little before sun-set. We had arrived sooner, but that Mr. Panton's

with which Atterbury was treated in the Tower; but, upon a candid examination of the facts alledged by the Bishop and his friends, we have no reason to imagine that he underwent more rigour than a state-prisoner, accused of a treasonable conspiracy, usually meets with. The following instance of lenity is not generally known. He was arrested in August, 1722. The articles of impeachment were brought into the house the 23d of March 1723, passed the House of Commons on the 9th of April; he spoke in his own defence on the 6th of May, and on the 27th the king gave his royal assent to the bill of pains and penalties. During the interval between his impeachment and condemnation, several chapters were permitted to be held under his auspices as dean of Westminster; and the subdean was allowed to act as his proxy. During the month of May, not less than eight chapters were held for signing leases; and on the 31st it was agreed, "That the lease of the manor of Pensham be *now* sealed, and lie in the chapter-clerk's hands as an escrole till the bills he has sent up for the fines are due and paid, this being the last chapter likely to be held till another Dean be made; and that the present Dean have his proportion of the fine." This unusual mode of proceeding, by which a very considerable fine was, before payment, reserved for Atterbury, was entirely owing to the connivance, if not the interference, of Government; for it is a well-known fact, that the Bishop of Rochester had offended the chapter by his overbearing behaviour." Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, 1798, vol. II. p. 171.

harness, being of very rotten leather, broke three or four times, and delayed us in our journey. I am sure Mr. Panton did not dream of his chaise being so much out of order and unfit for travelling, when he lent it to carry Mrs. Morice and me; but it is a proof that the fadler (who provided such good wheels for your berlin) is a rogue; for Mr. Panton left it to him to fit every thing up; and he assured me it was so well done, that nothing would fail between Paris and Calais. It proves far otherwise; and we are in a continual fear of some part or other breaking every stage, which is a very uncomfortable circumstance to travellers. To-morrow we propose sleeping at Abbeville; and, if you have no letter from thence, you must conclude we are all pretty well. We find the weather extremely cold, and the wind very cutting; but, as it incommodes us one way, it helps us very much another; for, excepting a piece of bad road which we met with towards the end of our first day's journey, when we were stuck in a bog, which I told you of, we have for the most part met with excellent good ways, considering the time of year. The frost has made them hard enough to bear our chaises, and in that we have been very lucky. I conclude Dr. Wyntle may make enquiry after us; please to let him know we are safe at Amiens. He may defer his journey longer, and fare worse. I have written a great deal, considering how much tired I am; so now subscribe myself,

Your Lordship's ever faithful,
and obedient son and servant,

W. M.

If

If you write to Calais under cover to Monf. Louis Molden, it will probably reach me before I leave that place.

I beg your Lordship would be pleased to send a servant to Mrs. Waters, to know to whom Mrs. Morice is to deliver the grey muff. Mrs. Waters forgot to give her the address. We suppose it may be for Lady Waldegrave, but are not certain. Please, in one of your letters, to set us right.

I meet with sad writing-tackle on the road, as you see by my letters.

XIII. From MR. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Calais, Tuesday, Jan. 22, 1725-6.

MY last to you was from Montreuil; and, though I then told you the neck of our land-journey was broken, I found myself very much mistaken, for the road between that and Boulogne (which we travelled on Sunday) was most intolerably bad. It was in that stage that the Ambassador's berlin broke in pieces, and it was great good luck that Mr. Panton's chaise was not left there too. We were from seven in the morning till past four in the afternoon making the day's journey, which is only four posts. When we came to a place called Pont Brique (within about a league of Boulogne), we found the bridge had been carried away, and there was no passage for us; so we contrived, after unloading our baggage, to get that and the chaise carried over (by means of some planks that were left), by the assistance of a good many men. This difficulty over, we met with a farther, to get up the hill between Pont Brigue

Brique and Boulogne. It is very steep, and paved; and there being a thaw on Saturday night, and a frost ensuing on the Sunday morning, the hill was iced all over, insomuch that the horses could not keep their feet on the ground, but tumbled every two or three steps. This forced Mrs. Morice (who is none of the best walkers) to quit the chaise, and she was obliged to get up, and go down a long, steep, slippery hill on foot. It was full as great a fatigue to her as her expedition to the top of Nôtre Dame, for which she suffered so much: however, after all, we reached Boulogne in safety. We rested there on Monday. We were received by Mr. Gordon in a most hospitable and friendly manner. We dined at his house, and they supped with us at our inn. I have settled with them a manner of receiving and conveying letters, which I shall tell you in a particular letter to-morrow or next day. The father and son are both very much your humble servants. At dinner there was one Captain Lennard* (who was tried for his life at Lancaster, but acquitted); Mr. Panton can tell you who and what he is. Mr. Gordon intended, by way of Mr. Panton, to get him recommended to your Lordship, that you might be serviceable to him in an application he is making for a recommendation from the K—— at Rome, to get into some service, either French or German; and occasion was taken to mention it to me. My answer was, that I believed your Lordship would be very glad to serve the gentleman upon Mr. Gordon's recommendation; but, how far it was in your way to do it in this case,

* See vol. II. p. 368.

I could not tell : however, I was begged to write to you upon it. A state of Captain Lennard's case (who seems to have been a very deserving man, and a most gallant officer) is to be sent to Panton, and will be laid before you; and, as what the man asks is really what cannot well be denied, I wish your Lordship may be of use to him. Mr. Gordon told me he heard your Lordship drank only claret; that he is sure you cannot easily get good at Paris. He would therefore gladly supply you with some of the best, at the most reasonable rates, from Boulogne. He constantly sends (I think) half a hoghead every fortnight up to the Marquis of Blandford, and you may have what number of bottles you please the same way. If you like this proposal, you have only to give him your directions upon it.

This morning we left Boulogne, and are arrived at Calais without any ill accident. We quitted Panton's chaise as soon as we could. We left it, as he ordered, with Mr. Gordon, who lent us one to bring us hither. In the way (which was all covered with snow, and it was well, therefore, we found out the right way), we were overtaken with a great fog, which was very terrible for the time it lasted, for we could scarce see the length of the chaise before us; yet (God be thanked) no misfortune happened to us, and we have had the good luck to travel near 200 miles through frost, snow, ice, and very bad roads (and, for some time, in the midst of a thick fog), in safety. Mrs. Morice has, indeed, a violent cold, and is extremely fatigued; but she will not fail writing herself to you before we leave this place. When that will be I cannot tell, for there

is

is no packet-boat on this side, and we must wait for that and a favourable wind. Whenever we embark I hope we shall have a prosperous gale, and be more lucky than King George, who was in a violent storm off the Goodwin Sands, and drove away to Rye, where he was landed.

James shall set out on his way to you by the coach next Thursday morning; but you cannot compute the day he will be with you; for this bad weather the coach does not arrive punctually. The baggage I sent by it, the Friday before I began my journey, arrived but this very morning; so that the coach made twelve days in coming to Calais.

Mr. Gordon delivered your letters to Mrs. Morice and me, which I will answer to-morrow or next day. I have made this a long letter already: I wish it may not tire you. Believe me ever,

Your Lordship's most faithful and dutiful,

W. M.

XIV. From MR. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Calais, Wednesday night, January 23, 1725-6.

I WAS willing to let you know of our arrival here the moment we came, and so sent you a letter last night. I then told you I had fixed a way with Gordon of conveying letters; and, if you send any under cover to him, with the superscription, to Mr. Warner, or to Mr. West (which had best be not in your own hand),
he

he will forward them to London according to the address I have settled with him, and I shall have them safe. He has every week opportunities of sending them by shipping; but, in case the subject of your letter be such as requires more haste, and may be ventured by the post, you have only to send two lines, desiring the inclosed to Warner, or to West, may be dispatched by the post, and not stay for shipping, and then he will forward it by the post according to agreement betwixt us. So much for letters from you to me by that channel. As to such as I may find requisite to write to you, either by post, or shipping, by way of Boulogne, I am to superscribe the inclosed to Mr. Turner, and Mr. Gordon will forward it to you at Paris. After my arrival at Westminster I may perhaps give you notice of another manner by which your letters may come to me.

I come now to answer your letter of the 15th and 16th of January, which overtook me at Boulogne. You may depend that I shall never hesitate at obeying your orders, and will accordingly dispose, as you direct, of all the bonds, stock, &c. belonging to you as soon as possible after I get home; but I wish you may not have reason afterwards to repent taking such a step. The fall of the stocks just now is reported to arise from King George's being separated from the convoy in a storm off the Goodwin Sands, and not landing in some days after. That reason is now ceased; and I hope they will not sink much before I get home to sell your share in them, since you so order me. All shall be turned into cash with the utmost expedition, if you do not very soon stop my hand by a contradictory order, as perhaps
may

62 ATTERBURY'S EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.

may be the case; and unless you go upon certain grounds, I wish it may be so.

As to my brother Atterbury, your Lordship may depend I will do every thing in my power towards answering your expectations on that head, and you shall hear from time to time what is done in that affair.

Jameson is very glad to hear the white handkerchief is found; she was in fear of the blame that would have been laid on her when she came to deliver up the linen. I forgot to put down, in the inventory of your household linen, the holland pillow-bear which Mrs. Morice ordered to be left for the little pillow we left you. I cannot yet tell you when we shall leave this place; I long to be out of it, for it is very inconvenient as well as expensive to continue at an inn. I am to settle with Francia to-morrow morning. You shall hear how we end matters. I conclude this with your Lordship's own expression, "God grant we may have another meeting, to our mutual satisfaction;" and with this farther addition, that it may not be long first, and more lasting than our meetings of late have been.

Mrs. Morice sends you her duty, as she very soon will a letter. I am,

My Lord,

your ever faithful,

and obedient son and servant,

WM. MORICE.

P. S. I am full of the spleen at thinking my stay here may be long; for no packet is yet, or can arrive this night. I wish I may see one to-morrow, and then we may embark on Friday or Saturday.

P. S. Just as I was making up this letter, Mr. Francia came in with his account. It is certainly very indifferent with him as to his affairs. He has charged me 475 livres for the chaise I have kept. Though his bill for the two chaises was only 800 livres, he alledges that he did not include the harness of the chaise, which actually cost 75 livres. In short, he is poor, and I cannot dispute such a thing, but must of course acknowledge and allow his account in that and some other articles. Upon the whole, he is in my debt still 235 livres, for which I must take his note, for he has no money at present to give me. I must, I fear, add it to the account of my losses.

James sets out to-morrow morning. I have paid the hire of the coach, have given him a louis-d'or towards his expences; and, as he has indeed had a very fatiguing journey, and bore a good deal of bad weather, I have given him two louis-d'ors for himself, and he has promised to make you a very good servant upon his return. If the coach should happen to be very long on the road, and his reasonable expences amount to more (of which he is to keep an account), I have told him you will give him what he is obliged to spend above the louis-d'or. I could not part with any more money to him; I wish what I have left may bear my expences home.

XV. From MRS. MORICE.

DEAR PAPA,

Calais, January 25, 1755-6.

THANK God, we are got safe as far as this place, without any other accidents than those Mr. Morice has mentioned. You have reason to wonder I have

have not told you this before ; but a violent cold, and rheum in my eyes, has made it almost impossible. I am otherwise pretty well, and find myself much less fatigued than I could expect. We are very glad to see, by your last kind letter, that you are rather better than when we left you. It is what will make me leave this place, and venture upon the worst part of the journey, more chearfully. There is a packet-boat just arrived from Dover, but I fear we must stay here till Sunday morning, when we hope the sea will be less tempestuous than it is at present, and we are sure the tide will serve at a more convenient time for us to make the voyage by day-light. Adieu, dear Papa, we long to hear from you again, in particular how your leg goes on.

XVI. From MR. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Calais, Saturday night, January 26, 1725-6.

TO-MORROW morning we are in hopes of leaving this place. Mr. Lovel, of Dover, who has the direction of the packet-boats, hearing, by a small vessel that went from hence the day after we arrived here, that we were wishing for a vessel to carry us over, has sent a boat (the same that has carried us over several times, and is the best upon this station), to attend us, and another lesser ship to carry the mail, so that we may take our own convenient time to embark. The tide serves (and the wind does at present) at 6 o'clock to-morrow morning ; and, as no ship can get out of this harbour (except a very small one) but within an hour
of

of high water, I must have lost my passage to-morrow, had not the Governor of this place (with whom we had the good fortune to travel in the stage-coach above a year ago), been so civil as to order the gates to be opened an hour sooner than usual; for the hour of opening them is seven o'clock at this time of the year. He made us a visit this day, when I asked this favour of him; and he readily granted it, though he refused the like, not long ago, to Baron Sparr, the Swedish Envoy, who waited for a passage to England. You see what civilities we meet with so far, more than we shall, I believe, find on the other side of the water. I own, I apprehend no search, but am prepared for it should it be made.

We have now nothing to wish for but a good wind to carry us over, and to receive good news from you when we come there. Be pleased to let Mr. Panton know, that, upon further consideration, I will sometimes make use of the address à Monsieur Du Menil.

I beg leave to desire your Lordship to give the most sincere respects of Mrs. Morice and myself to Lady Catharine and General Ruth. We have a real value and esteem for them, and shall always be glad of being in their good opinions.

I shall be glad to write to you next time on the other side the water; and, as your blessing attends us, we confidently believe no evil will happen unto us. I am ever,

My good Lord,

Your ever faithful,

and affectionate son and servant,

WM. MORICE.

Perhaps

Perhaps the English news-papers may have slipped your observation; I therefore send you the news-papers I have met with at Calais. The "Letter from a Gentleman at Rome to his Friend at Leyden *" induces me to send it.

XVII. From MR. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Thursday, March 10, 1725-6.

I CANNOT tell how to let this gentleman depart without sending a letter by him, though he has had too little time himself to give me notice of his going, so that I might have leisure to recollect every thing I might have to say to you; and he sets out a little of the soonest for me to send you so particular an account of your affairs as I could wish, for your entire satisfaction.

As to money-matters, I have already lent on two land securities the sums of £.1000. and £.800. In two or three days more I am to lend on two other mortgages the sums of £.2200. and £.1500.; and in a

* "We have an account from Rome, that the Chevalier de St. George uses his utmost endeavours to justify himself from the aspersions that have been cast upon him on occasion of the Princess Sobieski's retiring into a Nunnery; for which purpose he has handed about amongst his friends a kind of memorial, setting forth the state of the case; to which he has annexed two letters he wrote to her, with an intent to dissuade her from her purpose; and divers copies of them have also been sent into foreign countries." London Journal, January 15, 1725-6—On this head, see farther in the "Illustrations" at the end of this volume, No. I.

week

week or two after, I expect mortgages for £.2000. more. I shall then have invested for you £.7500. upon good land securities at £.5. *per cent.* and shall continue to seek after further mortgages both for you and myself. So far I hope I have acted according to your pleasure.

As to my brother Atterbury, I am willing to say little of him at present more than that he begins his voyage to Barbados next week. The bearer has seen him often, and can, if he will enter into particulars with you, give you some history of him. He has been no little expence to you since he left Oxford, from whence he came without a rag of cloaths or linen fit to be seen upon him, so it was absolutely necessary to cloath him from top to toe; and that costs not a little, especially when added to the farther expence of equipping him for the voyage. I have, by Mr. Tryon's agreement, paid the Captain of the ship forty guineas, only for his passage, maintenance, and instruction in the art of navigation, &c. I went to Highgate, and consulted my uncle * about sending his nephew in the manner he is now going. He approved of it perfectly well, and said he was uneasy till his nephew was settled in some way abroad, fearing he would never come to any good at home, and indeed all his relations will have reason to rejoice when he is got out of the bad company he constantly herds with here, and which it is out of any body's power to prevent, while he continues in England.

* Dr. Lewis Atterbury; see vol. I. p. 484.

I have been to wait on Lord B——st * twice. He is still full of respect and kindness towards you, and expresses himself very cordially on that subject. However I do not think but that my reception was in somewhat a cooler manner than it used to be a year ago, and I have not had any return of my two visits. I believe he will not run absolutely into the Court measures, but keep himself pretty much to himself.

The noble person who used to convey to me, through the hands of the late Bishop of Chester †, an annuity of £.50. *per annum*, has kept in the country all the winter, and I am therefore at a loss how to apply to him for it. Besides, what is worse, I hear he is in a very ill state of health, and, should he happen to die, that benefaction is sunk at once, but I hope for better things. The Buckinghamshire gentleman is the only person for whom I have yet received any thing since I last came home.

The bearer carries over several things that you have ordered me to send you, of which you shall have the particulars in a post or two. He can tell you how Mrs. Morice and all my little family do, and will make it the less necessary for me to add any thing more than that I am

Your ever dutiful and obedient,

W. M.

N. B. Pray take care not to answer the letters I privately send to you in your public letters by the post to me.

* Bathurst.

† Dr. Francis Gastrell; see vol. II. p. 351.

XVIII. From Mr. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

April 20, 1726.

I RECEIVED yours of 5th April, which came by way of Dieppe, and by a private hand. Though there may be good reason for not giving the post-office an opportunity of peeping into what we write, particularly relating to family-affairs, yet I cannot but think it advisable for us to make use of the post sometimes about indifferent matters, lest it should be remarked that we have little correspondence by that channel, and an inference be from thence drawn that we carry it on other ways, which may not be so well in regard to my sign manual. Please, therefore, to write sometimes by the post; and, if you but tell me you are well, your letter will give us a great deal of pleasure.

Your letter, I am now answering, lets me see your uneasiness about your money-affairs, and that you are angry with me for not having (as you then thought) disposed of your stock. I must so far justify myself, that, had I not followed your directions so closely, your stock had been sold to more advantage. You must not forget, that I did not arrive in town till the 20th of January, the very day the King opened the Parliament with a speech that contributed to make all stocks fall. However, in regard to your positive orders, I hastened (unluckily indeed) to comply in disposing of that stock as fast as could be conveniently done, and you have not at present above £.1500. left in the public funds. I have not yet disposed of the £.500. you have in the South-Sea capital Stock. I could not, nor can I yet, bring myself to sell at about £.105. *per cent.* what cost you £.120. It will be a dead loss of £.15. *per cent.*;

and surely you may venture that sum (the interest whereof will be punctually paid at £.6. per cent.) till there be a better market to dispose of it. If the stock, though, should chance to rise tolerably, I will e'en part with it. Your uneasiness will now, I hope, be pretty well over in relation to that stock; but mine is very great, and it grieves me daily to think how much money lies without interest. As yet I have been able actually to invest in mortgages only the sum of £.1800. though I lately sent you word I should have invested by this time £.7000. One of the mortgages that was proposed to me for between £.1500. and £.2000. has, upon a nice examination of the title, not proved to the satisfaction of myself, or my counsel; and I shall take special care how I lend any money upon a dubious or insufficient title. Two other mortgages for £.4000. or upwards are still in treaty, and will, I believe, very soon take place. One or both had been concluded ere now, but that all the parties concerned could not be got together so soon as was expected; and yesterday Mr. Cotton told me, that, in ten days time, he was in hopes of helping me to a farther mortgage for £.1300. and upwards. In short, I am, and shall continue to be, as diligent as possible, in finding out good securities for your money, that you may not suffer so much by the loss of interest; and, after all is settled (as I hope it will be to your satisfaction), I will send you a particular state of your affairs upon the new footing, or bring it over myself. As to the £.100. you lent your neighbour, I have only got Captain Shephard to pay one of his three bills, for £.25. and that I was forced to take out in wine; and in the same way the Captain would
discharge

discharge Mr. P——'s other 'two bills, for £.25. each. I have written to your neighbour already about it.

As to the new payment from the Welsh gentleman, I have not as yet received any from him; but, upon his going into the country the other day, he came to me, and assured me I should very soon have transmitted to me from thence a bill for £.50. as the first payment due as last Lady-day; and he desired me to send you word, that you might faithfully rely upon that annual present every Lady-day during your joint lives. So far is well.

Your relation near your estate in Buckinghamshire is seldom in town; he declines, I hear, very much, and it is thought will scarce hold it long. I fancy we shall not much want his assistance, for your tenants will, I believe, pay 'very well, and do better for you than Wenckles did, who, by what I now hear, dealt as ill by the land he farmed (for the present tenant complains he has worked out the very bowels of it), as he has done in the receipt of your rents. He is soon to come to town, where he designs to end his days. I shall then continue to press him to pay the remainder of his debt, and he shall find me not easy to be put off.

Your watch is ready; but I want an opportunity of sending it to you.

Lord B——st*, I fear, gives into the Court more and more every day. I am not admitted now, as I used to be, nor have I been favoured with a visit from him since I last came over.

The bearer of this cannot stay any longer; so I must for the present subscribe myself, with all duty, your ever faithful and obedient,

WM. MORICE.

* Bathurst.

XIX. From MR. THIRIOT.

MILORD,

A Forges, ce 27 Juillet, 1726.

IL y a huit jours que je passe icy mon tems a mener la vie du monde la plus delicieuse, la plus tranquille, et a laquelle il ne me manque pour etre entierement heureux que l'honneur de vous avoir escrit, et le plaisir que j'aurai de recevoir de vos nouvelles. Je ne me ressouviendrois point de Paris sans vous, et si je n'esperois de vous y retrouver à la fin d'Octobre, je n'aurois pas plus de desir d'y retourner que j'ai eu de regret à en sortir. Ma santé est si bonne depuis mon arrivée, qu'il semble que je prens des eaux de Forges par pure complaisance et pour faire comme les autres. On prend icy deux remèdes à la fois; la dissipation dans laquelle on vit guère l'esprit d'un vaporeux, et les eaux retablissent l'estomac. Je ne m'accommoderois pourtant par long-tems d'une vie si oisive, si molle, et qui n'est mise en mouvement que par la bagatelle. Un long sommeil, le jeu, la bonne chère, les cercles de dames, et la promenade, sont encore plus sensibles et plus agréables après la lecture de Ciceron et de Virgile que sans aucun exercice d'esprit. J'avois emporté quelques livres, qui sont encore empaquetées, et que je rapporterai de même. Je n'ai jamais veu le goût de la société porté a la familiarité qui regne dans les lieux ou l'on prend des eaux. On ne sort pas plutôt d'une partie de plaisir qu'on en recommence une autre. Voilà, Milord, un detail exact de la façon dont on se comporte a Forges. Il est aussi agréable pour un homme dans ma situation, accablé de vapeurs, qu'il est insipide pour un grand homme comme vous, mêlé dans les affaires d'état, et dont

le

le loisir n'est occupé que de ce que les belles lettres ont de plus sublime et de plus delicat. Permettéz moi donc, à ce propos, de vous demander, sans entrer dans aucun de vos secrets, si je puis vous feliciter sur le succes de vos affaires, en attendant l'effet des vœux de tous vos amis ? le Pere Courayer a-t'il soin de vous faire passer sous les yeux les ouvrages de nos meilleurs ecrivains François qui auroient pû vous echaper ? votre admiration pour M. Bossuet * est elle toujours constante à mesure que vous parcourés les ouvrages ?

Si vous voyez le P Courayer, souffrés, Milord, que je vous supplie de le faire ressouvenir de l'estime et de l'attachement que j'ai pour lui. Je vous demande en grace s'il vous venoit d'Angleterre quelque ouvrage de votre goût, et que vous jugées convenable a l'usage que j'en veux faire, et que vous m'avez paru aprouver, de vouloir bien me l'envoyer par le carosse de Rouen, à l'adresse de M. le President de Bernieres à Rouen. Permettez moi d'ajouter à toutes ces prieres celle d'avoir la bonté de presenter mes respects à Monsieur et à Madame Maurice, et de vouloir bien recevoir les tres humbles hommages avec lesquels je serai toute ma vie, Milord,

Vôtre très humble et tres obeissant serviteur,

THIRIOT †.

Mon adresse est à Forges.

* The famous Bishop of Meaux. See our Author's opinion of his writings, vol II. pp. 334. 336.

† Nine different letters of Bishop Atterbury to Mr. Thiriot, on literary subjects, are printed in vol. II. p. 322—333.

XX. The following Paper, endeavouring to prove that Sir Robert Walpole intended to bring in the Pretender * after the Death of King George I. was found, in the Bishop's Hand-writing, in the possession of Mr. Morice; and probably was written in 1726, or the beginning of 1727.

THE most able and penetrating heads in England judge Sir Robert Walpole's scheme to be, that King George should hold his throne during life; and that, upon his death, his son the Prince Electoral should not succeed, but the right line be restored, in the person of King James himself, (or rather) in that of his son the Prince of Wales, if there be any hopes of his having a Protestant education.

The proofs of this scheme are; 1. That Sir Robert Walpole has all along lived in terms of defiance with the Electoral Prince of Hanover; so that he can expect

* It is not improbable that this paper was written by Atterbury, and sent to England for the purpose of being employed in some political publication, according to a similar plan mentioned in a letter from Pozobueno, the Spanish minister, to Ripperda. "London, May 30, 1726. I was informed by the Imperial Resident, that Pulteney, the oracle of the opposition, told him, that he was preparing to publish, before the meeting of Parliament, proofs of the bad conduct of the Government; in which he should accuse Sir Robert Walpole of malversation in the public expenditure, give a statement of the national debt, delineate the overbearing spirit of Lord Townshend, who has reduced the Nation to such a state, and whose conduct seems to prove, that, in conjunction with Walpole, he has an inclination to sacrifice the King, and to place the Pretender upon the throne." Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. II. p. 226.

no mercy from him, whenever he shall mount the throne, but is sure of being then ruined. He has but one method of preventing that blow; which is, by restoring the rightful King, or his issue; and he is under no tie of honour or conscience, with regard to his party or principles, which should hinder him from pursuing it.

2. That he aims at this point, appears, from his destroying the power of the German Ministers, both at home and abroad, so as to hinder them from meddling in any thing wherein the interests of England are concerned; which would be false policy in him, if he intended the succession should be established in a German family. From his management with respect to the debt of the Nation, which he undertook to lessen: his talents peculiarly lie that way; but have been so little exerted, that the public debt has swelled every year gradually during his ministry. The only excuse that can be made for him is, that he hopes to cancel it at once, upon a new Revolution; when a Prince shall come in, whom that debt was contracted on purpose to keep out. This will certainly then prove the case; and either he has this in his view, or his conduct is altogether unaccountable. For he loads the people with new taxes, fixes upon them a standing army, and augments it from time to time under various pretences; induces the Parliament to take steps that violate all the English liberties, releases King George from all the engagements he was under when he accepted the crown, and gives him such extraordinary powers as were unknown to the constitution under its most arbitrary princes; for what reason?

son? but to render that Family odious, and, by making the burthen so heavy, to prepare and dispose the people towards shaking it off, when the great opportunity happens, at the head of which he will certainly be, in hopes, by that means, of preserving himself from ruin.

With what reasonable view could he forward those insolent and bullying steps taken with respect to the Emperor, Spain, and Muscovy, but in order to incense those powers to such a degree as should render them irreconcilable; and push them into measures for restoring the King, and by that means providing for their own honour, interest, and safety? This event he thinks himself unable to effect, during the life of King George; but does every thing that may facilitate it afterwards; and probably not without the privity and consent of his Master; who is known, for obvious reasons, to hate and despise the Electoral Prince, and to have mortified and counteracted him every way, so as never but once, when he went abroad, to entrust him with any share in the Administration; and the counsel given him then by Townshend and Walpole was the occasion of their being disgraced soon afterwards, upon his return from Hanover; when it was particularly laid to their charge (and that charge was true) that they had endeavoured to render the Prince independent of his father, by procuring a separate revenue to be settled upon him, in the first Parliament after King George came over. They have made amends for this conduct since, and have by that means (among others) re-established their credit with King George, nor will they
lose

lose it by any scheme which is not to take place till he is dead and buried.

What other account can be given why the Prince in possession does not suffer his grandson Frederick, the distant heir of the Crown, to come into England, or even to learn the language of the country till lately? Must it not be supposed alone to imply, that he has no thoughts of his reigning there? If that be not actually the case, nothing can be more wonderful than King George's politics.

Add to this (what is extremely remarkable) that neither of the famous speeches from the throne, or in any of the Addresses and Votes of the two Houses, during this Session (in the wording of which Sir Robert Walpole was chiefly concerned), any mention has been made of the succession in the illustrious House; a never-failing topick upon former occasions; and most proper to be insisted on at a time, when the great complaint was, of an invasion designed in behalf of the Pretender. It seems the fault of that design was, that it aimed directly at dethroning King George; but no concern is expressed for those who are to come after him.

From these, and several other reflections, the thinking men in England conclude, that Sir Robert Walpole's scheme is certainly what it has been represented at the beginning of this paper; since no other supposition but that can possibly solve all present appearances.

XXI. The following Paper, in Bishop Atterbury's Hand-writing, found also in the possession of Mr. Morice, endeavours to prove that Sir Robert Walpole is tottering, in order to induce him to break with England, and unite with the Emperor.

THE Cardinal's* conduct, in adhering so firmly to his engagements with England, is matter of surprize to men of reflection, in many respects; but there is one which ought to be of the greatest weight with him, yet seems not to be attended to, at least not so much as it ought to be. It is the flipperiness of the foundation, upon which the scheme of the Cardinal's union with England was built; for it can hold no longer than Walpole's Ministry subsists: and that seems to be very precarious at present.

Two things require to be explained on that head. 1. That Walpole is sinking. 2. That the strict union between England and France will sink with him. These two points being made out, the consequences are obvious, and need little explication. As to these points, were the Cardinal duly informed of the true state of affairs in England, he would not want to have it proved, or at all explained to him: for nothing is more certain, than that Walpole's power and influence decline apace, and are in danger of being soon overturned. Foreigners do not so easily enter into these things till it be too late: but flatter themselves with some public appearances on which they are chiefly intent, and rely; without knowing the secret causes that do in England gradually but

* Fleury; see vol. II. p. 357.

certainly

certainly produce such changes. These the natives observe, and can form sure judgement from them about the approaching fall of any Minister.

What they lay to his charge is : That his whole administration is built on corruption and bribery ; which he has carried to a greater height than any of his worst predecessors ever did ; and has, by that single means, worked all his ends, and obtained all his majorities in Parliament, at the expence of the morals of a people, who were remarkable heretofore for their honour and probity, and who had some share of it left, till they came under his administration. This method of corruption has indeed proceeded so far as to poison the greater part of those who make the chief figure of our Constitution, the Members of both houses. However, the bulk of the nation are still uninfected, detest the schemer for the sake of it ; being certified if it continues much longer, as it must while he stands, there will scarce be any left to retrieve the ill consequences of it. The new load of taxes under which Great Britain now groans, the increase of the public debt, which he undertook to diminish considerably, if not to extinguish ; the decay of public credit, by the fall of the stocks, and the loss or suspension of several chief branches of the English trade, are all imputed to him, as the effects of his counsels and measures, particularly those which he entered into the last spring, with regard to the Emperor, Spain, and the Czarina.

He is thought to have formed the design of giving up Gibraltar to the Spaniards, a design so dishonourable and mischievous to the nation, as renders him odious to all.

all sorts of people, and particularly to the trading part of it. And yet with this he is charged in the public prints; and is looked upon as driven to it by the necessity under which England is brought by his management, of complying with the demands of France, who are supposed secretly to favour this scheme.

Indeed the chief article of his accusation is (nor ought to be dissembled), that he has by his unskilful measures put the balance of power in the hands of France, which is, by his means, become the umpire of all the differences between the contending power of Europe; and particularly, the absolute disposer of the fate of Great Britain. That he has contributed to the re-establishing of their marine, by the very condition required of them in the Hanover treaty; and has favoured of late their re-union with Spain, which, as an Englishman, he should rather have prevented. Those false and (as it is thought) fatal steps in politics, both Whigs and Tories equally resent; the former as the real and natural enemy of France (however they may disguise that enmity at present), the latter as made such by the opposition which France has given to the king's restoration. Both at length will join in crushing Mr. Walpole, as the author of such measures, as though they may end well at last, yet were in themselves of * * * * *

Add to this the personal aversion King George is known to have had for Mr. Walpole, though he may cover it, as long as he thinks him necessary for his service. The Prince of Wales, his son, is more open in his resentments; and all that depend on him are ready

to take the first opportunity of joining in Mr. Walpole's ruin, which must happen when a new Parliament comes to be chosen, *i. e.* after another session, but will probably happen as soon as the present session determines; and of this there are very evident signs, which I shall in the next place mention. Mr. Walpole, for a twelve-month past, has been pelted with pamphlets and papers of all sorts, in verse and in prose, written by men of all parties, and particularly by some even of those with whom he was formerly united, and who are very zealous at heart, at least they pretend so to be, for supporting the present Government. This is a never-failing mark of the approaching fall of any Minister. Another is, the gradual increase of the minority of the House of Commons, which voted against the Court, since this session began. Every division wherein the Publick was concerned, added to their number; so that from 80, with which they set out, they came at last to 124: and Mr. Walpole, observing their growing strength, was forced to stop in a very extraordinary manner, by procuring a vote, while his Majesty stood firm, to prevent all farther enquiries during this session of Parliament. Nothing can shew a Minister to be harder driven, than his resorting to this expedient, which can serve only a present turn: it betrays a fear of such enquiries, and that fear will bring them in at last with great weight and vehemence.

The immense fortune he has raised in a few years (whereas he was worth nothing, when he came last into power) has exposed him to great envy; particularly on account of the manner of his raising it, which has been

by taking the advantage of his post, to watch the rise and fall of stock, and (as his enemies say) to * on it: by which means he is become by far the richest commoner in the realm. The distribution of preferments has been chiefly to his relations and dependents, without a regard to any other merit than that of an implicit resignation of themselves to his conduct and measures.

The Constitution, during his power, has suffered in divers other respects. The law has been altered as to the choice of new Parliament-men: before they were chosen for three years only; now they may be continued for seven, which has made it more easy for him to influence and corrupt the House of Commons. The Habeas Corpus Act, the chief bulwark of the English liberties, has been frequently suspended: a Standing Army has been fixed upon the Nation, augmented gradually on various pretences, and those additional forces never afterwards laid down. Every one of the conditions upon which King George accepted the Crown has been relaxed and laid aside; particularly that, whereby it was stipulated, that England should never be engaged in any quarrel which related to his foreign dominions. These and other steps by which the Constitution has been undermined and subverted, are laid at Mr. Walpole's door by the public voice of the people.

That he is falling, appears even from those addresses, which he has with so much industry procured in his

* Illegible.

own commendation. For no Minister, that sits firm, and is in credit, ever has recourse to such methods of supporting himself: those that totter only want and make use of them. Foreigners may think otherwise; but Englishmen know well the force of this reasoning. If Mr. Walpole were not embarrassed and in danger, he would quicken this Session of Parliament, in order to give room to King George to make the early visit he intends to make to his Hanover territories; whereas he manifestly protracts the expedition of business there depending: why? but in hopes of producing some plausible scheme of peace, when the Assembly, tired by attendance, is grown thin; and of closing it at last, by a general act of indemnity and pardon, necessary to screen him from danger.

In short, if he and his Brother Ministers were not diffident of their measures, why have they changed them of late so remarkably, and abated of their spirit, both in acting and treating? The first is notorious, particularly with regard to Spain: and as to the latter, the Cardinal himself may be appealed to, whether he does not find the English Minister here less imposing, and more docile and tractable, than formerly? If he does, he may satisfy himself that Mr. Walpole's approaching mortifications at home are the cause of it. When he falls, his brother, Lord Townshend, falls with him: for they two, are in effect the Ministry, the rest are but their creatures and slaves. A new Ministry will certainly pursue new measures; will run counter to those they succeed, and by laying of past misfortunes on them establish their own power and popularity:

popularity : and what then becomes of the Hanover treaty, when those who made it are disgraced, and probably disgraced for making it? France will be stripped of its new ally, and left to shift for itself; and the Cardinal will become the dupe of his own probity. He has but one way of surely avoiding this danger; and will he not take it? When he treats with the Emperor, he treats with a fixed power, of which he is sure. When he treats with England, as it now stands, he treats with a Minister, who influences the Parliament, indeed, while he continues; but, as he is in power to-day, may be out to-morrow. This is known to be the true state of the case, by all that know the present circumstances of England.

XXII. From MR. MORICE*.

I TAKE the liberty of sending this in the manner I do, & for certain reasons 'tis wrotte as it is. What may be safe or unsafe I won't pretend to decide: but letters, for ought I can judge, or any body else (but on conjecture), may miss the hand they are designed for, & possibly be perused by persons for whom they are not design'd. This, you may say, won't happen in this case; & I say, if nothing ever did happen but what people expected would, somethings would not come to pass that one is sorry to see dos; for example,

* This letter has neither date, address, nor signature; but the Bishop has marked "W. M." at the corner of it; and on the opposite corner is "Mr. Morice." The hand-writing is plainly that of a Foreigner.

a good friend, a wise man, for some cause not to be comprehended, seems to act a little (forgive the expression) unsutably to either.

I look on myself to be far from what can be call'd overcarefull of myself. Every friend I have reproaches me the contrary defect: but I will not, because I may please to venture some risques, be made to run all sorts, whether I will or no, & to no sort of purpose, of real moment.

When friends ought to reckon themselves as having such, they should rest satisfied in that idea, without expecting repetitions of being so, *especially* in some sort of cases. For my part, I always continue to shew my friendship in every proper mark of it, unless I confess a change in it; &, with my temper, tis not likely to happen but by faults committed by others: & I can say, that, in my whole life, I never did lose a friend of the one sex or the other; for I do affirm one may have some in both. Nor can any body say I ever ceas'd any friendship I once had profess'd. I don't put Pope under the first rank of friends: yet it was his real or seeming faillure to me occasioned what happened to him, & which I am still far from being convinced of, that he never hath, nor doth fail in that iustice & respect I do think in general due to me, nor do I think his manner lately has pav'd much the way towards reestablishing him in my good opinion. When I think otherwise, I shall freely say it, & wish it was the case.

Now I must express myself on a more material occasion with the frankness my temper leads me to use on every occasion where myself is only concern'd. I will

not take the trouble to conceal any of my thoughts, especially when I think 'em right. Now, to use your own words, being sure I can never find better, you know, or should know, the integrity of my heart; & wherein I am sensible due integrity dos consist, I would not swerve from it on any consideration: no, not even to please the person which on earth I think myself the most obliged to please, and there, if yet but one in a station that I am bound to lay aside my own humour to follow theirs, and they are too reasonable to desire any thing is not so, and puts me not so much as a hint to secure me from certain hazards; &, whilst others surprize me with not being sensible there are any, & what is more extraordinary still, take ill from me the having proper cautions, were I capriciously disposed towards people I do value, I might in good earnest take extreanly ill the forcing me to the trouble I take and give about 'em. From what cause this matter has happened I cannot conceive. Refining sometimes is an advantage, when it leads one to a iust and quicker discerning than low genius's can ever attain to. But as to me, if ever us'd, 'twill leed astray, for I would tell my notions, my intentions, & my motives thereonto for a *teslon* on any occasion whatsoever wherein I am singly concern'd.

I return thanks for all I have received, & judg'd it unnecessary to do it before: *car pour ces sortes de choses, cela va sang dire.*

To return to a more material matter. A certain gentleman, every way proper and free from any objection, was chosen for having all the letters of a certain person deposited,

deposited, & you, my friend, have thought fitt to chuse another, may be as fitt as the other, but that is more than I know.

Now suppose (it being now the fashion to reason upon suppositions) you or I should dye before I remove from my present habitation, or both happen'd so to do, what is this gentleman to do with those papers? He may deliver 'em wrong. Suppose we should all three dye, which, tho not probable, is possible, then all his executors must peruse them. I am thus particular, because I would appear reasonable. That I might still prove myself more so, I apply'd to the judgment of a certain person. I told them my fears. I begg'd to give their opinion, as a mark it was not only a weak one in me. I saw the answer was made; & I freely confess, tho in a stile which is always a good one, strange notions seem'd convey'd to my apprehension, that is, to have the most reasonable thing both in the chief person, and the inferior, taken unkindly by another, who has not the least glimpse of a iust pretence to feel it towards either. What mark of unkindness did it shew? What additional weight to any misfortunes did it create, & which one person considers, I am sure, in the most tender manner, and the other's good nature & friendly regard too, has produc'd them all the trouble that the present matter creates to various persons, yet I am dispos'd to make all the allowances which the nature of the things can admitt of, *for the past*. I shall conclude, more in earnest than in jest, that all the professions of friendship and regard has somehow for a time given way to a humour natural enough, of chusing

to follow one's own rather than on's neighbours. I am extreemly disposed the same way. Now, who shall first submit to reason, or give up meer fancy, *the weakest* or the *strongest* sex?

To be serious, I desire that the papers wanted may be given to my Messenger; for I am sure they cannot be out of your reach in a day or two; or to be given to Sir John Webb, who is an acquaintance of mine, and a man whose character you must esteem. Whenever reasons for my present caution cease, you will be troubled with nothing of this kind.

Do me the iustice to believe me truely concerned for your health and prosperity; & don't show either real or seeming spleen to your friends any more.

XXIII. From MR. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

London, Jan. 11, 1726-7.

THE gentleman, by whom this goes to Paris, has talked of going for some months past; but his affairs have kept him back; and the time now approaches so near when I hope to be with you myself, that I choose not to send by him the accounts I intended he should have carried over some time ago, for they are swelled by this time so much, that I am willing to lay them before you myself, when I can best explain to you every article of them. In the mean time, let it satisfy you, that I have (by Michaelmas last) invested in land securities upwards of ten thousand pounds, all at *£.5. per cent.* and am in expectation of soon finishing some other mortgages I am in treaty about. In the mean time, the residue of your affairs lies part in the funds,

funds, and some by me in ready cash, which I believe will soon be well disposed of; and, when I come to settle with you, I hope you will say I have done every thing for the best. You must not expect the interest upon mortgages will ever be paid with the same punctuality as it is paid on the public funds; however, I hope you will not have much reason to complain on that head, the people to whom I have lent the money having faithfully promised to be good paymasters of the interest, and I hope they will not fail.

Mrs. M. is pretty well, and was at the Opera last Saturday with our Neighbour * at the other end of the Park, who continues daily instances of her friendship and regard for her, and probably we shall not leave England again without a token of it.

I lately sent you Gulliver's Travels †. The reputed author, Dean Swift, made very kind enquiries after you, through our Twickenham friend, and was pleased to hear he had been mentioned by you in some of your letters. He came over hither purely to see his friends, and divert himself, and was almost continually with Mr. P. ‡ This letter does not go by so secure a conveyance as could be wished, the gentleman who carries it going by way of Dover: I shall therefore omit saying any thing farther now, and subscribe myself,

Your ever faithful,

obliged, and obedient son and servant,

WM. MORICE.

This letter will come to you by way of Dieppe.

* The Dutchess of Buckingham.

† See vol. II. pp. 316. 340.

‡ Pope.

XXIV. From MR. MORICE.

MY HONORABLE LORD,

Holland House, March 5, 1726-7.

THE gentleman by whom you sent over your ring* delivered that and your letters to me. One of them, containing Extracts of a Letter of Voltaire's, has (I mean the Extracts) been shewn to our Twickenham friend, who could not but be pleased with them, as he was at the manner of their being sent. He is as much your humble servant as ever, and constantly speaks of you in terms of the greatest friendship and regard. Your other letter, which Mr. Verd—n brought to me, relates chiefly to your estate and family affairs, of which you should have a particular account by this conveyance, but that I shall be with you so soon now myself (for next week I intend to sue out the sign manual), that it is better to defer it, for fear of any accident that may happen to any papers this gentleman may carry with him; for they begin, I hear, to search passengers from hence, and he seems to be but a timorous person to trust any thing by, for he was, according to agreement, to have dined with me this day, at this place, but sent a letter about dinner-time, excusing himself, in regard it might not be very safe for him to be seen at my house, and therefore desiring I would inclose any commands I might have for him according to an address then writ me. I venture this by him, since, if it miscarries, it can do no great hurt. My letter, of the 11th January last, told you in general whereabouts your money

* See vol. II. p. 339.

affairs stood: by the middle of April you shall have yours in particular from myself. In that letter I told you I fancied a certain Neighbour of ours, who continues her civilities to Mrs. Morice, would give some token of her regard before we left England. I guessed right, for I have already received an usual instance of it, of which you shall hereafter know more.

I take notice of the directions you give for my bringing over a draft of a settlement, so that you may order the landed estate according to your own mind. But, in order to draw up such a settlement, you must send over the lease and release, dated the 20th and 21st days of May, 1723, when the landed estate and fee-farm rent were settled by you here, according to your intentions at that time. Without a sight of them (at least of the release), our Lawyer cannot draw up the new settlement you propose.

Inclosed I send you the only Protest of the Lords, this Session, as far as it is gone; perhaps there may be more before it is over.

The author of the Copy of Verses on Lord Cadogan *, lately printed in our news-papers, I am assured, is Mr. Tickell.

The same person as brought over your diamond ring carries it back to you again. I took due care to shew him all manner of civilities, as you ordered, and believe he departed not without a due sense of them.

To-morrow, being 6th March, I shall be too much engaged to write by that night's post. Mrs. Morice will find time if she can. I am, with constant duty,

Your Lordship's ever obedient and faithful, W. M.

* See vol. II. p. 316.

XXV. The Duchefs of BUCKINGHAM to MRS. MORICE.

MADAM,

Dec. 2, 1727.

I BEG to know from you, whether Mr. Mead has been with Mr. Morice about a little matter I bid him do; and I should be glad to know of Mr. Morice his opinion of the Act of Parliament concerning the Bishop of Rochester. I had it by me, but it is mislaid. In case my son should go to France to follow his exercises better than he can learn them here, whether he may not be seen and examined sometimes how Mr. Costa does instruct him, without any hazard of forfeiture to a child. I know his Mama could not have the advantage of hearing herself his opinions without a forfeiture people would very willingly take. In short, the King has forbid me and my son the liberties we were permitted in his Father's (and which confines my son from air and exercise in town) reign, and I was no favourite in it; but, by the Dutcheſs of Kendal's means, I had a few common acts of breeding and humanity shewn me—that of the same privileges of the King's Park which I was allowed in Queen Anne's reign—and the promise not to pardon Ward, which I doubt if I should have obtained now, though I fancied myself a sort of favourite of the Queen's, because I have about ten letters under her hand which flatters me with it; and many personal assurances besides.

I confess I am much tempted to breed my son abroad, if I could secure his religion well and education better; though his affairs, and the odd agents I believe every
body

body has, who has intricate matters to manage, makes it impracticable for me to settle as I could wish with him; yet I could visit him when I was not other ways necessarily employed. And indeed, betwixt the great easiness of his Governor (though otherwise a valuable man), he is always visiting and following the calls of good-for-nothing Courtiers, to the loss of the time he ought to bestow on his pupil: so that in the country only, or in another country, one can have him as much at home as is requisite. First, I have nothing passes in my family I would give three farthings to hide, yet I am sure the gossiping women, and such kind of men, send and invite him to dinner and supper. Hopes to pick something from him of what passes in conversation, either from me or my company, makes them make the rout they do with him, who really is too good a sort of man to be a pleasure to them, though he has that fault of his country, too great an awe and respect for people in power, only because they are so. And I begin to fear the people whom I must necessarily have at my table and house, as stewards and agents about business, will grow to make their court to my son, at the expence of flattery; and methods may come to spoil him at home, though yet I have prevented that hazard from servants, and such as make an home education dangerous. Could I carry my son to France, and leave him under what part of your Papa's direction he would have the good-nature to undertake, I should think I did the best I could now for him; and really as to what progress he makes in learning I am entirely ignorant of. I know his Governor is reckoned a great scholar, and is
a man

a man without any vices ; yet I do believe my son will be a little too headstrong or too cunning for him in a short time. Though to me he is very tractable and very fond of me, yet his natural temper is pretty warm, very eager for what he fancies at all, and consequently should have his time much and well taken up, as he now is near twelve years of age. This thought of at all parting with him is very hard to me ; yet I begin to fear the ill effects of always an home education ; and I fear our Schools at Westminster or Eaton for his health, and for the jumble it may now make betwixt their manner of learning and what he has had ; and I wish I could any way get good advice in relation to it. Could I have an opinion safely asked, I should be glad ; and by this servant I send to town should be glad to receive some answer. I am ever,

Madam,

Your faithful servant.

P. S. I have bought a finer fan than I am used to do, since my stint is not, generally, above a guinea or thirty shillings at most for any ; for I am apt to leave them about on benches in the garden. But a woman, who is a gentlewoman, was starving, and got me to prefer buying her fan rather than pestering people to raffle them off. As I shall only come to town a little this winter, I shall not want it ; and, as I think it well painted, I desire you to accept of it, and wear it, or it will be spoiled or lost by me.

XXVI. FROM MRS. MORICE TO THE DUTCHESS OF
BUCKINGHAM.

MADAM,

Holland House, Dec. 3, 1727.

I HAVE the favour of your Grace's letter, accompanied with a fan, the finest, I think, I ever saw, and very unfit for my use; but your Grace commands me to take it, and I must obey. I shall preserve it with the greatest care, and use it like a curiosity as it is. Shall every now and then entertain myself with viewing the fine painting; and prize it for its own value, but much more when I remember the giver.

Mr. Morice has turned his thoughts upon that part of your Grace's letter, in which you do him the honour of asking his opinion. The act of parliament, he says, is worded with so much malice, and wicked ill-nature, that it is difficult to give any opinion upon it. It is certain there is no exception for any body, but such as have the King's sign manual; and consequently, any set of ministers have it in their power to be troublesome or not, as their good or ill dispositions shall lead them. However, he thinks there may be a method found out of fulfilling, in a great measure, your Grace's intention about my Lord Duke, upon which head he will explain himself farther when he has the honour of waiting on you next. At present he is willing to say no more, having a good opportunity (by a friend who sets out for Paris next week) of sending for a better opinion than his own; and, in a short time after, he may reasonably expect to receive an answer by a very safe conveyance. Upon this occasion, Madam, give me leave to say

say that I am sure there is nothing in the world would please my Papa more than to become useful in the education of my Lord Duke. He has told us more than once, when we were last with him, that, were he restored to his own country again, he should turn his time and thought to nothing more zealously; and, as far as it can be brought about, he will, I know, be pleased at being useful in the same way abroad.

If your Grace has any commands for Mr. Morice, he is always glad and ready to receive them. He is never above an hour's drive from London, and so not out of the way of doing any thing wherein your Grace judges him of use. He offers his humble respect; and I am, &c.

XXVII. From MR. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Jan. 2, 1727-8.

THE inclosed letter to Mrs. Morice, and her answer to it, are both necessary, I think, for your Lordship's perusal. You will lose no time in letting me have your thoughts upon the subject; for I am impatient till I receive such an answer from you, as may be shewn the Lady. I hope Mrs. Morice's answer, which she was forced to write in a sort of hurry, the messenger waiting for it, contains nothing improper. What is mentioned about Mr. Mead's being with me, related, I suppose, to the payment for the coronation lace *, but I never saw Mr. Mead on that occasion. He, poor man, was taken ill, just as he must have received the orders to settle that affair, and is since dead. No doubt, her Grace will soon give fresh orders on that head. The fan,

* See vol. II. p. 355.

you will observe, was sent my wife, is the finest my eyes ever beheld, fit for a Coronation, and probably worn that day. We have since had a haunch and side of venison from Leigh's, and frequently kind messuages from thence. All these civilities came after Mrs. M. had delivered the little tokens, which it is plain were not unwelcome, but kindly taken.

I also send you the letter I received from Mr. Pope just after my arrival, that you may see his reason for not writing to me at Paris: he came soon after to see me, and was full of his kind enquiries after you.

The story of my Lord and Lady Mar has been related to me, and by this time it is as well known here as abroad. As to that Lord's Scheme, which you hear has been printed in French and English, I have enquired after it, and at last find it is so *. Whenever I am able to get any of them, you shall hear of them at Paris. I do not find they are in very many hands. Happening to have a little acquaintance with M^{rs} the Journalist, I asked him whether he had heard of any such Scheme, and of its being in print. He told me he had one or two of the papers sent him from Holland, he cannot guess from what hand; they came in a blank cover by the post, and not being willing, in his circumstances, to meddle with affairs of such a nature, he gave the copy to one of the profession, who had formerly done him some little civilities, that he might reap some profit by the publication of it, and he might very well venture publishing it, since he was not ill looked upon by the Ministry. The man was much pleased with the thing, and very thankful to M^{rs} for putting him in the way of

* Q. What was this publication?

getting some money; but before he went so far as to publish it, he had the caution to wait on Sir R. W. and consult him upon it. Sir R. W. (as I am told) was struck very much at reading the paper, and wanted to know whence the man had it, said it was of consequence, and must come from a great man. The printer desired to be excused from naming names, being under a promise not to do it. Sir R. bid him stop doing any thing about it till he saw him again, and appointed him a time to come to him again. At the second interview, Sir R. insisted so strongly upon knowing from what hand the man had the paper (promising the person that gave it him should come into no trouble about it) that he brought the fellow to own he had received it from Mr. Mist, who acquainted him he received it by the post from Holland. Sir R. seemed surprized, bid the man go look for Mist, and desire him to come to him; but Mist has hitherto avoided going, as knowing nothing of the matter more than that such a paper came to him by the post. Sir R. has forbid the publication of it; and Mist is under some apprehension of being troubled, under some pretext or other, for the sake of this affair. This is all I can tell you of this matter.

As to public news, upon what footing our present set of ministers stand, people do not agree. It is generally thought Sir R.'s fate, as a minister, depends upon the success of foreign affairs: it is confidently said, there are divisions and uneasinesses amongst those at the helm; and that the new-created Peer * and Sir R. differ very much, which it is not unlikely may end in the removal of Sir R. though they say he has ingratiated himself ex-

* Lord Wilmington.

tremely with her Majesty, being the only person who ventured to propose so large a dowry as 100,000*l.* and to promise the obtaining it in parliament; sir Spencer Compton not naming above 70,000*l.*

The report of sir R.'s having delivered petitions from Kelly and Plunkett was very true; but I do not find, as yet, the good effect of them. If an act of grace, which some people say is to be brought in next sessions, should come, it is believed those two petitioners will be included in it, at least discharged about that time; if so, why is somebody else kept abroad? You observe rightly, that all things do not run in one channel, as they did in the late reign; and that sir R.'s influence in ecclesiastical affairs is at an end. Nor has the archbishop of Canterbury any power in that matter. He imagined he should have the first week or fortnight of the new reign; and people thought so too; but he found his recommendations are disregarded, and so he has chose to sit still at Lambeth, and tells every body he has no interest at Court. The Queen seems chiefly to manage that branch, though not absolutely; for she intended Dr. Hare for the bishopric of Bath and Wells, and Dr. Sherlock for that of Norwich; but the whole ministry united in their representations against it, alleging it would disoblige the whole bench of bishops to have the new-consecrated ones let into the best preferments at once; and, to carry their point, they put Wynne upon taking Bath and Wells (for which it seems he made no application himself); and Baker upon taking Norwich, to disappoint Sherlock.

Dr. Freind is a great man at court; and his reputation as a physician greatly raised by Lord Townshend's

recovery, after the Whig doctors; particularly Hulse, (who attended in conjunction with Freind and Sloane,) differed so greatly with Dr. Friend, as to quit his farther attendance on my Lord, and declare his Lordship must die if he followed the course Dr. Freind was for taking with him. But his Lordship declared he would live or die by the hands of Freind; and so Hulse took his leave, and his Lordship is, contrary to most people's expectations, past all danger. Dr. Freind sometime ago recovered Lord Lynne*, after the other physicians had given him over; and also soon after recovered the second son, so that the Townshend family owe the Doctor three lives. This intimacy of Dr. J. Freind at court has made way for the civilities which the public prints inform you have been paid Westminster School by the young Prince's honouring them with his presence, and seeing a play acted by the King's scholars at the college. Dr. Bob† is to have a Prebend: the first vacancy is promised, so he is to fill the second; but, if that does not happen soon, some people imagine he may be disappointed, notwithstanding present appearances, and his early compliments to the present reign; for, the Monday following the death of the old King, the theme he gave in school was a little out of the way, and I am at loss to find out the wit of it; it was this:

Numquam Libertas gratior extat quam sub rege novo.

methinks *pro* might have stood as well, and been as

* The present Marquis Townshend, who at that time was three years old.

† Dr. Robert Freind; see pp. 105. 110. 113. He obtained a canonry of Windsor in 1729; which he exchanged for a prebend of Westminster in 1732; see vol. I. p. 454.

good

good a compliment to a new king. Some time after, the young Prince begged a play; and, upon the occasion, the theme given for the boys to exert their talents upon, was, *Celebrate ducem qui vobis otia fecit*. And I foresee the next anniversary meeting of Westminster scholars, on the 15th instant, will vary very much from the last, when great care was taken not to dip into flattery or party. There will be enough of both this year. In short, people seem generally to have changed their countenances during my absence; at least they appear to me in a different light from what I used to view them in; they look at the same time a little silly, as if they were got between two stools, and afraid of dropping between. Some few indeed still keep their old faces. I had laid aside all thoughts of mentioning to L. what happened on your side in relation to him before your letter came to forbid me, as judging it not proper, according to what I find in his present way of thinking.

XXVIII. From Mr. J. SPARROW*.

MY LORD,

Calais, January 18, 1727-8.

I HAVE the honour to return your Lordship my humble thanks for the great confidence you have reposed in me, by committing to my charge the valuable person † whom I have conducted safely to this place. We arrived about an hour ago, and intend to pursue our journey (by the way of Dover) to-morrow morning.

* The name at the end is cut out; and the letter indorsed, in the Bishop's hand, "Mr. A's, with Pere Courayer's P.S.

† Pere Courayer. See vol. II. pp. 321. 344. 375.

The company, though unknown to him, joined with me in making his journey as tolerable as the terrible roads, bad accommodations, and dismal weather, would admit of. Your Lordship will imagine him very much fatigued, as indeed he is; but he bore all much more easily than could have been imagined. He will write to your Lordship soon from England. I could not omit one post, lest your Lordship should think us the unfortunate persons who were drowned in the stage-coach which made the last journey before us. I have the honour to be your Lordship's

Most devoted and obedient servant, J. SPARROW.

P. S. Cette lettre, Milord, me dispense d'y rien ajouter, que pour vous marquer ce que je dois à Mr. Sparrow qui a eu pour moi toutes les attentions possibles. C'est une nouvelle obligation que je vous ai de m'avoir recommandé à un si honnête homme, et un nouveau motif de vous renouveler mes reconnoissances. J'aurai l'honneur de vous écrire quand ce serai en Angleterre.

XXIX. From Mr. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

February 9, 1727-8.

THE bearer has given me so little notice of his leaving London, that it is impossible for me to write so fully as I intended by him; however, I send the inclosed paper, which I suppose will give you the satisfaction you desired. The lawyer, who drew the draught, thought it best to mention matters only as they appeared in the last account made up between us, and to leave any thing that may have arisen since that time

to be adjusted in the next. The deed, therefore, bears date in December last; before which time there became no alteration in matters between us. I have very lately received a little money for your account; but I shall take another occasion to write upon your money affairs. I think the inclosed paper sets forth all the particular securities, &c. I have of yours. The little green book, in which my accounts with you are entered, will shew you whether I have made any mistake. I do not keep an exact duplicate of your last account, for reasons you may guess, and am always desirous to keep matters of that kind in such a way, that, were the Ministry at any time to lay hold of my papers, they might not be able to come at any thing to hurt you or myself. But I believe my memory, helped by some little notes, serves me pretty right, and that you will find little or no error in the inclosed paper: pray let me know if you do, that I may set it right in another.

I have, by this conveyance, sent some printed papers, which I understand are intended to be bound up before the Works of the late Duke of Buckingham*; there is the account of the pedigree of the Sheffield family—the late Duke's will, and a sort of *Character* of his Grace. The papers were put into my hands that I might receive your opinion upon them. I think the *Character* shews that the Duchess bears a very great respect for his memory; but methinks every thing in it does not deserve printing. Pray let me have your judgement upon it. Our Twittenham friend has no doubt been concerned in

* This was preparatory to octavo edition of the Duke of Buckingham's Works, which appeared in 1729.

drawing it up; but the Duchess has certainly added some things, for nobody else could possibly add them.

In a little time another good opportunity of writing to you will present itself; and Mrs. Morice resolves not to let it slip, but to prepare her letter rather before-hand. She is vexed the bearer goes without any, but as she has spent most of this day at Buckingham House, she has really not had time to write.

Sir R. W—— seems to be better established in his ministry every day, and is said to have publicly declared in the H—— of C——, that his present Majesty is resolved to pursue the late King's measures, and to make use of the same set of men. The late Speaker has lost his interest pretty much at Court; and nobody has him in that esteem he might have expected, had he shewn a proper spirit, and put himself forward at first. It is now I believe out of his power, and he must content himself with the lowest seat in the Upper House. If the Court of Spain recedes, and comes into the terms proposed from hence, so that a Congress ensue, and Peace be made, Sir Robert is certainly Prime Minister for life. I hear nothing of any Acts of Grace.

The public prints will tell you by how great a majority Colonel Robinson has carried the election of Chamberlain *, in opposition to the greatest efforts of the Court Party; which must mortify them very much.

I sent lately, by Mr. Hall, a Littleton's large Dictionary, a Westminster Grammar, and a Construction of it; together with Æsop's Fables, all nicely

* Colonel Robinson had 3058 votes; in opposition to Deputy French, who had only 2247, though seven other candidates had resigned in his favour.

bound in Morocco. I should be glad to hear they were come safe to you *, and that you approve of them. I think they are properly bound to serve a young Gentleman of Quality. Mr. Hall also carried instructions for teaching according to the Westminster Grammar †. I likewise sent by him *an hat*, which he promised to deliver to Mr. Waters, to whom I desire you would please to send after it. It is my present to Father John; and you will be so good as to give it him in my name.

I have not heard whether you received my chaise back from Calais, together with all the tackling. My friend writes me word he sent it up long ago.

Poor Dr. Brydges is come to town very ill with a dropfy and jaundice. Dr. Freind has him under his care, and says, if ever he recovers, it will be a great cure. Indeed, I am afraid he never will ‡. Bishop Bradford is not like to hold long; and Dr. Robert Freind is talked of to succeed in the Bishoprick and Deanry; but I do not believe it.

XXX. From Mr. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

May 8, 1728.

I HAVE not such frequent opportunities of writing to you by private hands as you have to me; and generally, when I hear of a friend's going your way, I have such short notice, that I have scarce time to recollect my thoughts, and put them into black and white. I am glad to hear, by yours of the 4th of May, that

* See vol. II. p. 351.

† Ibid. p. 352.

‡ Ibid. p. 365.

the books I sent you some time ago, and my letters by the same hand, were at last got to you, and that the complaint you make, for want of hearing from me, in that private letter of 18th April, is removed. I shall now endeavour to answer as much of that letter as remains unanswered. The two hundred pounds in Cantillon's * bill on Waters I suppose you received in due time; I sent it the very next post after Mr. Waters sent me your orders about it.

As to your affairs in my hands, your frugality will, I doubt not, leave sufficient to answer any extraordinary accidents which may happen over and above your constant necessary expence: though they are not, in some respects, in so good a condition as when we parted; for (by the contrivance of a certain Great Person at the head of affairs, in paying off several public debts, by coining paper instead of money, and drawing people in to be content therewith, or satisfied with a reduction of interest), all manner of interest is brought very low. Bonds, that used to bear five, are now continued at four *per cent.*; and at that rate of interest they bear a premium. Mortgages also are fallen in the interest; and Mr. Lynn, from whom I have £.1000. mortgage, gave me notice the beginning of March last, that he would pay me off at three months end, unless I was willing to take for the future four *per cent.* I stood out against it; but, being sensible where he had just agreed to take up the money from another person, I thought it best to comply, and have agreed to let him have the money *a year longer* at four *per cent.* for, had it been

* See vol. II. p. 311.

paid me in, I do not see how I could have disposed of it to better advantage. Alderman Barber has also given me notice that the mortgage he has on an estate in Kent, for £.8000. and upwards, wherein you know I am concerned £.3000. for you, has been offered to be paid off unless he consents to lower the interest, which he must be obliged to consent to, and then I must do the same as to the proportion of the £.3000. Thus, you see, your annual income will be somewhat lessened; and, as to your annuities from particular persons, one is gone by the loss of poor Mr. Drake*, who was a very worthy man. He went off at Bath, after keeping his bed only two days. He sent to speak with me the night before he left London, and told me I should soon not fail of a bill, sent from Bath, for £.50.; but his sudden death (for nobody thought him so near his end, though he was not in a good state of health) prevented it. Sir J. D.† went lately abroad, and his lady is to follow him about September next, after her lying-in. He made so short a stay in town, before he set out for Dover, that I never heard of him till the night before he went away, so missed seeing him. I hope he will make amends on the other side the water for his neglect of payments to me on this. I have received nothing from him more than you know of. As to the other annuity from my Welsh friend, he is a little dilatory in the payment, for I was to have received £.50. last Lady-day, which is yet behind-hand; but I conclude it will be paid me soon. As to the annuity from the gentleman in the

* See vol. II. p. 365.

† Sir John Dolben; see vol. II. pp. 379. 402.

West, I have heard nothing about it since I came last over; that may come when not expected, as the last payment made me on that head did.

I have satisfied you, in more letters than one, as to your enquiries after Mead's bankruptcy *, in which a lady of our acquaintance is much concerned. The printed papers which you received from me some time ago, were sent in order for your approbation and alteration †. The impression of a few only being worked off signifies nothing; the Lady thought it better to transmit a printed than a written copy; and nothing farther will be done in it until the papers have received your correction; so pray send me over your directions at large upon them by the first opportunity. The person from whom I had them is entirely satisfied with the answer sent about the young gentleman's ‡ staying at home, and not travelling yet, though that matter was thought on in earnest: and she continues all kindness and civility to Mrs. M——, my undertaking the assigneeship has given me a great deal of trouble, and employs me four days out of seven; but, as it has given great satisfaction where I desire it should, I am pleased at the trouble I take. The accident of the banker's failing, with so large a sum of money of our friend's in his hands, has certainly occasioned the postponing of a new year's gift, which I am pretty certain was intended, and will in time be made up. You are oftener enquired after than before, and with more freedom and openness to me than ever; and you may rely upon a sure friend there §, as far as ever you think proper

* See vol. II. p. 360.

† See the note in p. 103.

‡ The young Duke of Buckingham.

§ See vol. II. p. 376.

to try. At present you have no occasion for any thing but what may come, and, I believe, without expecting it; and I fancy you will always be in the same case.

As to public news, Sir Robert is as absolute in power at present as ever; but Mr. P. pushes him hard; and how long he will stretch the bow before it breaks, nobody can tell; but the opinion of many knowing men is, that he drives too fast, not to be thrown at last. There is a fresh talk of an act of grace; whether it will do any good to any body but the present set of ministers, I cannot learn. Lord Marr's house is actually fitting up; and his family give out that he will be over very soon. I suppose he will not return home alone. Shall any of those Memorials be sent about on this side?

Your books I have not yet taken out of the custody they were left in. That gentleman enjoys better health than he used to do; but I shall nevertheless soon take care of them. As to my dealings with Mr. H. you know he has lately taken a wife; and does not visit, or suffer himself to be visited, so much as formerly. He is pretty often out of town. I mentioned the matter of a banker to him so far as I judged proper; but, finding he was a great friend to the banker in question, and had strongly recommended him to Horace, our famed minister at Paris, as he has done to several other gentlemen, I thought it best not to push the matter farther; but, if you insist on it, I will enter farther into that point; and, as he still retains a great value and esteem for you, he may, perhaps, do any thing that is pressed in your name, to oblige you. But I should add one thing more
on

on this occasion, and tell you, that the banker's brother is Mr. H's physician.

The Lincoln's-inn preacher, whom you enquire after, and that has shewed his parts in the pulpit against the Beggar's Opera, is one Mr. Herring. He was formerly Chaplain to Bishop Fleetwood, and has set up for imitating that Prelate's manner of preaching; and, they say, imitates it pretty exactly. He is generally reputed, I find, among the Clergy, as an ingenious man, and pretty well learned. The Court espoused his election as Preacher at Lincoln's-inn, in opposition to Dr. Mangey, who would otherwise have carried it; and probably he will gain farther advantages from Court.

You desire to know the names of the present Bishops (excepting such as you know and mention in your letter). You might have mentioned some others, whom you must very well remember; however, I add all that you make no mention of in the inclosed list; and it is very certain that you judge right in thinking the Bench to be under a great degree of contempt. That it might become so, was one reason why you were drove abroad; the Court not desiring any figure should be made by any that belong it; and now they are pretty safe on that head. I cannot learn what expence the Royal Guest occasioned at Hitcham*. It is certain Dr. Freind made great preparation. Whether he will compass the making his brother *Bob* † a Bishop, I much doubt; for Sir R. W. has gained his point in relation to Church Preferments;

* The residence of the Freinds; see vol. III. p. 341.

† See pp. 100. 105; and vol. II. p. 377, where it now plainly appears that the *Freinds* are meant by the *F's*.

and you will scarce hear of any more such promotions as Hare (who is Bishop of St. Asaph) and Sherlock. Her Majesty, they say, consults, and does nothing without Sir R.'s leave on that head.

I have brought this letter to a sufficient length, being not willing to lose the opportunity of writing by Mr. Howard, who takes a dinner with me at Holland House; and I have desired him to tell you how much we want to see you there. An apartment is ready for you, till your own at the Deanry can be cleaned out, and cleared of the rubbish it has contracted these five years past. I say nothing of Mrs. Morice, nor of my children. The bearer will tell you how they all do; by whom I had not time to write this long letter, without leaving Mrs. Morice to entertain him. I believe, I shall soon meet with another hand, by which I may venture a letter; till then, I must take leave, and, begging your blessing on me and mine, bid you adieu.

I would have written you a fairer letter, but had not time.

XXXI. From Mr. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

June 24, 1728.

MR. ELLIOT, whom, for the future, I shall call Mr. Hereford*, has brought me all the papers and the four pamphlets you sent by him. I shall take care to distribute them properly. I forwarded your two letters to Father Courayer, who resides generally at Lord Percival's country seat, near Blackheath; but, as to the packet you mention to have sent, addressed to

* This explains the name in vol. II. pp. 373. 380.

Mr.

Mr. Langby, no such parcel is yet come to my hands. Mr. Hereford declares he never received any other than those already delivered to me, and it is not amongst them. I conclude, therefore, you must have sent it by some other hand. I wish it were arrived, that Pere Courayer might be at ease on that head.

I cannot express to you the pleasure some of your late papers have given me, and in which Mrs. Morice also has taken her share. Your Discourse on some Verses in the XIIth *Æneid*, and your Version of Virgil's First Eclogue, are exceedingly beautiful: in both you have set a pattern, which no genius that I know of can pretend to come up to. I have communicated a Copy of the Discourse * (for I am resolved to keep the original myself), to the Physician †. He was mightily pleased upon casting his eye over a small part of it. I have not seen him since he has had time to consider the whole; it cannot fail giving him infinite pleasure, as your application of it to him does him vast honour. In a little time, I suppose, I shall have some sort of return to make you from him. The other piece I shall put into the hands of our Twickenham friend in a day or two, for which purpose I design him a visit.

You have succeeded so well in the beginning, and towards the end of Virgil's Works, that I shall long to see some more pieces of the same kind, drawn from other parts of that excellent Author, who can never have his Works so finely illustrated by any other hand.

* See vol. II. pp. 402. 428.

† Dr. John Freind.

I design

I design from henceforth to follow the rule you prescribe, and shall, *de die in diem*, set down every thing that occurs worthy of your notice, in a paper to be afterwards transmitted to you. I agree it will be an easy method for me; and it becomes me to comply with it, as it is your desire. At present there is very little employ for me that way. There is a sort of stagnation of news, for it can be none to tell you that Sir R—— W—— gains ground, and governs more absolutely than in the late reign. Mr. Pulteney's removal from the Lieutenantcy of one of the Yorkshire Ridings is one instance of Sir R—— W——'s power, and of his resolution to crush all opposition with an high hand, and to rule with an absolute sway. It is certain there are powerful parties against him, but he seems to despise them all. The Earl of Scarborough (as well as the late Speaker) is, I hear, among the disgusted; but nothing will be able effectually to shock the Great Man, if affairs go on successfully at Soissons. All sides agree his fate depends on the success of the negotiations there.

Dr. J. F.* is a very assiduous Courtier, and must grow so more and more every day, since his quondam friends and acquaintances shun and despise him; and, whenever he happens to fall in the way of them, he looks, methinks, very fillily. He is in great hopes (as I have heard), of obtaining a Bishoprick for his brother Bob†, and not without expectation of placing him in the See of Rochester, and Deanry of Westminster, if old Bradford would be so kind as to make way for him. In that

* Dr. John Freind.

† See pp. 100. 105. 110.

case, he is (as is said in the family) to be Preceptor to Prince William. But this scheme I scarce believe will ever be compassed, for the great Sir R—— not only hates but despises the family of the Freinds; and, while his power lasts at the pitch it now is, they will never be able to obtain such extended views*.

I am glad to find, from the tenor of all your late letters, and the way of spending your time, that you are so much at ease in body and mind, and that you have at last taken up the resolution of doing yourself justice, by drawing up your case†, which the world expects to see one day or other; and your friends and well-wishers are often questioning me about it. The noise of your having quitted the Banker reached me here before it came over from your side the water. It gave occasion to various reports, and I have heard was publicly talked of at St. James's. Some said you were discarded, upon a discovery that you were making your peace, and paving your return home again, at the expence of the person who had entrusted you with his affairs.

Others would have it, that you found you were betrayed in every step you took, in relation to that person, by agents with whom you were obliged to act in concert; and therefore, as you could do no good, you took the part to retire.

Others reported, that you had enjoyed a pension of £.4000. *per annum* from this Government ever since you were abroad; that it might now be a fit time to call you home again, and your leaving Paris was a step towards it.

* See vol. II. p. 377.

† See vol. II. p. 379.

Many other idle reports were raised, and put into the mouths of proper tools to disperse them.

Some people argued here in the same manner as they did at Paris, that it looked as if matters went very ill in somebody's favour, when the only person abroad, capable of doing service to him or his cause, had not the management of it, but seemed to give it up for lost.

Others, who formerly had other sentiments than they have at present, said, it was no wonder if you had at last quitted the trouble of conducting a cause (supposing you had the principal management of it), which was visibly expiring, and that you chose to get rid of a person who will never do himself any good, but will (first or last) treat every one ill without regard to merit or sufferings*.

These are the 'chief reports which I have met with, grounded upon your retirement into the country, at which some folks seem glad, and others sorry: but on all hands it is agreed, that the interest of a certain person must suffer very much by it; for the imagination (whether well grounded or not), that you heartily espoused his cause, gave him a sort of credit, which he may find the want of hereafter; and nobody, as I can learn, lays any blame on you for quitting (supposing you ever were in that person's affairs), but on him for suffering you to retire, and having, as they suppose, given occasion for it†.

This is all I have at present to say on this subject, more than that a certain great Lord and Lawyer‡ was

* See vol. II. p. 408.

† This needs no comment.

‡ See vol. II. p. 376.

very inquisitive about the truth of the report, at a certain Lady's hôtel of our acquaintance; but the Lady could not satisfy him any thing about it.

You may be sure, I miss no opportunity of acquainting my Neighbour in the Park with your state in every respect, who loves to hear of you, and is sincerely affected with any thing that touches you. I was questioned there in relation to your retirement, which seemed to give some concern. It was immediately judged, that a certain great Relation would suffer by it, and lose a good share of his interest, by not shewing you more regard.

Some of our late letters have been filled with the melancholy news of the death of friends. Last week we lost another. On Monday evening died poor Dr. Chamberlen *, after a lingering illness. His death, indeed, was not so great a surprize, as that it did not happen sooner. He has been visibly decaying a long time. The young Duke of Buckingham will have a loss in him, for it is to his tender care of him that his Grace, in a great measure, owes his life. The Dutchess also will greatly miss him, and is sensibly concerned at the loss. He died at Buckingham House, from whence her Grace immediately retired, and is not to return till after the funeral is over. Three days before his death (when it was to be read in his face), Mrs. Morice and I were admitted to see him. He enquired very affectionately after you, and desired us not to forget his service to you.

I some time ago told you of an intention there was of sending the young Duke to Paris †. It was

* See vol. II. p. 383.

† See before, p. 93.

designed

designed in good earnest, as you will see by the inclosed part of a letter to me, and that somebody's opinion to the contrary hindered it. Your advice is of the greatest weight there; and whatever friends you may happen to lose (as some very good ones have gone off lately), there remains one, who will, I dare say, make as much amends as is possible for the loss of others. I have reason to believe so—and that you in time will find so.

My Welsh friend is gone out of town without discharging the annuity; but he did not go without seeing me, and assuring me, that it should be paid when he returned to town again. It was not very genteely done, but I dare say I shall get the money at last.

In a letter of yours, some considerable time ago, you seemed not very earnest whether I pushed the matter (about changing bankers) with Mr. H—— very strongly or not. I did, at my first coming over, just touch upon that string, but found that H. had a strong inclination in favour of Mr. A. and that it would not be an easy point to prevail over him to take the business, which he himself had put into A.'s hands, out of them again. I therefore have desisted from mentioning and pressing the matter a second time; but can yet do it, if you insist upon it, though I believe it will scarce be worth while, for Mr. H. is declining apace. He had, the other day, a terrible shock, which had like to have carried him off, and, if he should happen to drop, it will be an easy point for me to recommend such a Banker, for the future, as you desire. Now I am mentioning Mr. H. it is not improper to acquaint you, that you are very high

in his esteem. He visits me pretty often, purely to enquire after your health and prosperity. I am apt to think he has it in his head to do something, and shew his regard for you in his will. This conjecture I draw from his just hinting his surprize to me, the other day, that nothing of that kind has happened, since your exile, upon the death of those who were your known well-wishers. Such a design, if he has it, should surely be a little encouraged; the example may have a very good effect. What if you took occasion, by some private hand, of kindly mentioning him, in such a manner as you judge proper for me to let him see: I think it would not be amiss. He often enquires touching your circumstances, and says people were not so generous as they ought to have been, and believes one reason of your retirement may be to save expences.

I hope my private letter, *per* Mr. Howard, of 8th May, reached you safe. I then gave you some account of your affairs, so there is no necessity of doing it now.

Mr. Hereford carries the two volumes of the Bishop of Coventry's Defence of his Book about Scripture Prophecies.

I am sorry to hear that Osbaldiston and Waters have both concurred in being dishonest, and deceived you in the expences of your housekeeping. I think the world is grown so bad, that there is not a faithful servant to be found in it. All, therefore, that can be done in such a case is, to prevent such practices as much as possible, and carry a watchful eye over them.

I find

I find Mr. Salkeld is so happy as to come under your roof again. I am far from wishing the man any ill, whatever thoughts he may have entertained about me. I hope experience has taught him how to behave himself for the future, in such a manner as not to forfeit your protection; and that you will find in him all the use and convenience you propose.

I think I have now answered every paragraph of your letters, except one, which is so full of fatherly tenderness, friendship, and affection, that it cannot but make the deepest impressions on me as well as Mrs. Morice. We are both greatly affected by it; and, in return, I can only assure you, that I have no greater pleasure in life, than being of some little use to you; and that, were it not highly inconvenient for your affairs (to say nothing of my own), I should never desire to be absent from you, but should make it my choice to be always near you, in order to ease you as much as possible of the inconveniency I am sensible you must be under for want of proper hands about you. Sure, the tables will turn in time; and I am willing to think God has not restored you to so great and unexpected a share of health, but for some good end, and that we shall at last see you return in honour and triumph to your own country again. That indeed would be the happiest day my wishes can frame to themselves; and, until good Providence brings it about, the best thing you can do for my wife and me is, to take care of your own health abroad. Our interest is wrapped up in your happiness; and you can never leave any thing behind you to compensate for the loss we shall sustain if ever you happen

to go before us. This is the dictate of Mrs. Morice's heart, as well as my own.

No news as yet of my brother Obby.

I have made several applications for the £.150. expected so long ago. That worthy gentleman is lately gone into the North, and has promised me faithfully to push the matter, so as a remittance may be speedily made.

Mr. Sh——n* sees me sometimes. He keeps his honesty at a time when almost every body is wavering. He is gone to spend the recess of Parliament, as usual, in Northumberland, and will not return till it meets again, when I dare say you will hear of him approving himself the same man you left him. I am commissioned to send you a thousand services.

I have now almost tired myself, as I fear I have you long before; but I am glad of such opportunities as the bearer affords me of writing to you. If he tarries till to-morrow, Mrs. Morice threatens you with a letter†. I am, with the utmost gratitude and respect,

My dear honoured Lord,

Your ever faithful and obedient son and servant,

WM. MORICE,

* Shippen.

† See her letter, of June 25, in vol. II. p. 367.

XXXII. From MR. MORICE *.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Sept. 26, 1728.

I HAVE received all the letters which you mention to have written me, except that which we expect by the hands of the young woman whom you recommend to Mrs. Morice for a service. She will do what she can in that matter, but believes it will be very little in her way to serve her. You complain of not hearing oftener from me by private hands. There are two reasons for my not writing more frequently that way. One is, the want of proper opportunities to write by, which do not offer themselves so often as you meet with them from Paris. The other is, that I have little to tell you, which may not be said by the common post, there being a dearth of news at this time of the year, almost every body (from whom I might expect to learn any) being in the country. All I can now tell you, as to reports relating to yourself, is, that I was assured, near two months ago, that Sir R. W. had given out, that you had entirely shook off the affairs of a certain person, were grown perfectly weary of that drooping cause, and had made some steps (by the means of the Embassador at Paris) towards not being left out in the General Act of Grace, which, it is every now and then talked, will pass the next Session of Parliament; and that you desired, above all things, to come home, and end your

* Indorsed by Bishop Atterbury, "Mrs. Morice, Sept. 26, 1728. Received Dec. 3, at Montpellier. Mr. and Mrs. Morice's letters."

days

days in your own country. With what view this report has been spread by Sir R. W. I cannot tell; but I have it from undoubted intelligence, that he has caused it to be rumoured. I shall now proceed to answer such parts of your letters as I have not before taken notice of.

You may rest satisfied that I shall miss no proper occasion of representing how matters stand with you to our Park Neighbour, who gives me as many opportunities for that purpose as I could wish. She is always very inquisitive about you, and loves to hear of your being pleased, or displeased, just as things fall out ill or well with you. This journey of yours will not be agreeable news to her; but I shall convince her you have solid reasons for it. She is now in the country. Mrs. Morice, before she went, made the congratulations on the young Duke's happy recovery. They were well and kindly received. She told me the £.200. was no gift of hers, but a legacy from Dr. Chamberlen. However, I was order'd not to take any notice of it to the daughters, and am apt to think it comes from her, though she won't have it thought so. I shall receive the money as soon as she comes to town. I understand a monument is to be erected at the young Duke's charge, and that it is now in hand. An inscription will be wanting for it by the time it is finished. You will think therefore of that matter *. I have a very pretty mourning ring to forward to you; it is adorned with a few small diamond sparks; and is what they call a star and garter ring. It may be worth 5 or £.6.

* This inscription was duly furnished by Bishop Atterbury. See vol. II. p. 427; and the epitaph itself in vol. III. p. 307.

I find you misunderstand my meaning in what I wrote about Mr. H. I agree it is very improper for you to say any thing directly about the point I mentioned. It would certainly rather prevent than forward any good intention that way ; but I think you would do well sometimes to enquire after him in your letters, and in such a manner as I may shew him the paragraph. He heard of the papers about the Physician in Virgil, and applied to me to let him see them. I obliged him with the perusal of them, and he was extremely delighted with them. Dr. John Freind shewed them to several people ; and Dr. Robert is full of his praises of them. I have retrieved the original papers, but cannot bring myself to part with them. I love every thing the better for being in your hand-writing. I hope a fair copy of them will answer your purpose ; and I shall send one to Waters, to be forwarded to you ; so pray suffer me to detain the original.

As to Dr. Freind's circumstances, I compute he died worth about fifteen thousand pounds. Queen Caroline has been so gracious to his memory, as to settle one hundred guineas a year in addition to my sister's jointure *, which is to be paid her punctually, without any solicitation or deduction.

The *Lay Lord* † shall know, that you are no ways concerned in certain affairs.

My uncle Atterbury is at Bath, in a declining way ; and it is thought cannot last long. I shall do every thing that is proper, in case of his death, and assert

* See vol. II. p. 414.

† See before, p. 115.

your

your right in the best manner that is possible. In that, and every thing else, you may depend on my having a watchful eye over your interest.

You guess very rightly at my silence in relation to Brother Obby. He is indeed far from what his sister and I could wish him; and it is to no purpose to vex you about him. He is in the house with us, and we shall keep him as much out of harm's way as is possible for us. About Christmas he is to make another trip to China. I have, I think, secured him the station of a *Mate* on board the *Lynn*. If going in that rank will not bring him to think a little more than he has hitherto done, I cannot tell what can be done farther for him. It was a favour to obtain the rank of *Mate* for him, to which his own character gives him very little pretence. I am obliged to Mr. Gibbons (who happened to be one of the Directory of the S. Sea in the year 1720) upon this occasion; and, by the same interest, I shall be able to get him advanced still higher, if his own misbehaviour does not render it impracticable for any body to serve him. The Captain of the ship is nephew to Mr. Gibbons, a very worthy man, of the same way of thinking with myself, and will do every thing he can towards working a reformation in my brother, in regard to whose son he is. You must expect a new charge upon fitting him out, for he came home with scarce a shirt to his back, though we sent him out so well equipped. If you added a line or two in your letters, telling me how kindly you take the service Mr. Gibbons has done *, I should be pleased, and could make a good use of it.

* See vol. II. p. 426.

If Mr. Skelton should make a voyage to England, we shall take care to receive him in such a manner, as, I hope, he will be pleased with.

I do not much wonder to hear of Kelly's writing, and complaining he is unsupported. Hitherto he has had a plentiful allowance; ever since his confinement ten guineas *per* month, through my hands; and what other benefactions he may have had, I cannot tell; but I believe he has chosen to live well, and lay up little or nothing; and now there seems to be an end of the collection which has annually been made towards paying him 120 guineas yearly. Several of the benefactors are dead; several weary of such incumbrances; and the whole Club (from whence greatest part of the bounty came) is in a manner dissolved. He has written teasing letters to me; and I think of pressing Mr. Cotton, our steward, whose note you know I have for the remainder of £.500, of which £.200. is still unpaid, to pay off that balance, that I may apply it for Kelly's use. You never ordered me to pay him that sum in ready money (nor should he have it all at once, whilst he continues a prisoner,) unless I could obtain the payment of Cotton's note, or some such other remnants, which are like to lay by a great while unpaid. However, if K.'s necessities increase, I must, I believe, supply him with a little ready money, whether I can get any from Cotton or not; and I shall expect to hear more from you on that head.

XXXIII. From MR. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Oct. 3, 1728.

I HAVE your letter of 29th September, which tells us of your being to begin your journey next day. God send you safe to the end of it. We shall be very uneasy until we hear of you at Montpelier. My Wife is quite dejected at the thoughts of your being so far off. I do all I can to comfort her. The circumstance of not selling your coach and furniture is a good omen, I hope, of your returning to Paris again next year; if you do not, we are resolved to follow you wherever you shall be. I shall remit a bill for the value of two hundred pounds by this night's post, that there may be money ready in Waters's hands for you.

Sir J. D. is returned from abroad. He has been at Spaw. Both he and his Lady intend, in a short time, to set out again for France, and to spend some time in the South parts of it.

I have lately received the sum of *fifty* pounds.

I have got all your books into my possession, and lodged them safe at Holland House.

As soon as I receive the six copies of the Latin poem, they shall be distributed as you direct. I cannot tell whether the English newspapers will reach you at Montpelier; if they do, you will find we have lost Dr. Hale *, who died of an apoplexy the 26th of last month.

* Richard Hale, M. D. F. R. S. He was many years Physician of Bethlehem Hospital; to which charitable foundation he gave 500*l.* by his will; and 500*l.* to the College of Physicians.

His

His death is very much regretted by all who knew him.

My wife intends you a letter very soon ; in the mean time sends her duty. Believe me ever,

Your most affectionately dutiful son and servant,

WM. MORICE.

Lord Mar is expected home every day.

I inclose you Mr. Pope's letter.

XXXIV. From MR. HUMPHREY MORICE * to Mr. WILLIAM MORICE.

SIR,

Wandsworth, October 20, 1728.

I HAD the misfortune to be seized with the gout the day after I waited upon you last, which has rendered me incapable of business, and disappointed me of obeying your commands in the manner I designed, and promised to have given you an account of this day, which my indisposition has prevented.

But I beg leave to lay before you the inclosed paper † for your observation and speculation. I hope in a few days to be able to go abroad, and call upon you. I am, with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

HUM. MORICE.

* Merchant of London, and elected M. P. for Grampound in Cornwall in 1722 and 1727.

† Indorsed by the Bishop, "Mr. Morice, Irish Coin."

XXXV. From MRS. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Westminster, December 5, 1728.

MRS. MORICE wrote to you the 21st November last *, since which we have received no letter from you. I had written to you sooner, but have been in daily expectation of sending you the best news I could hope to give of my Brother Atterbury, that he was sailed for China; but I cannot yet send such good tidings. He has behaved himself, of late, most scandalously and unaccountably, and I wish the ship may not have left Gravesend and him behind; for, yesterday in the afternoon I was surprised with an account that he was seen at Kensington about noon, though he had taken leave of his sister and me some days before, in order to go directly on board ship, where his chest and all his baggage has been shipped above a fortnight ago. In a day or two I shall be certain whether he has taken it into his head to be left behind or not; and next week you may depend on hearing fully from me of what happens †. His behaviour has so much troubled my wife, that it has an ill effect upon her health, which at best is but very indifferent.

Inclosed I send you a bill for 2175 livres, value of one hundred pounds sterling. You may remember, when I was with you at Paris last summer, I writ over a dunning letter, in hopes of procuring the sum of £.150. which ought to have been paid long before. At last, I have only been able to get the inclosed. You will

* See vol. II. p. 417.

† Ibid. p. 424.

please

please to place it to the proper head of account, and apply it accordingly.

I am half distracted at my brother's ill conduct, and shall not be easy till I can give you the news of his being failed.

My wife sends her duty. I am ever, with the utmost affection,

Your Lordship's most obedient son and servant,
WM. MORICE.

XXXVI. From MR. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Thursday, January 30, 1728-9.

SINCE my last, of 13th January, I have the pleasure of yours of the 21st. It did not reach me early enough on Monday last, to dispatch a bill by that night's post. I therefore now send one inclosed for the value of one hundred pounds sterling, according to your directions. I am glad your fit of the gout is so well over; and am sorry I cannot say as much of Mrs. Morice's cold, which, instead of leaving her, has brought a violent cough along with it, and lies so much at her stomach, that she is very uneasy at it; and I shall be more so, if it be not soon removed.

We are glad to hear you have thoughts of removing and coming somewhat nearer to us *. Our next visit we shall contrive to make of longer continuance with you than our former ones have been; and I shall employ my time in settling my affairs with such a view.

* See vol. III. p. 2.

The particulars of Dr. Chamberlen's age, family, &c. have been transmitted to you some posts ago, and should be with you ere now *. I hope you have them, and shall be glad to hear it. Many more letters, than you mention to have received, have also been sent you, and no doubt will come to your hands, though they happen to be long on the road ; which is a fate that, I find, frequently attends my letters, and is one great inconvenience attending the distance you are at from us. I hope that, and all others, will in time be removed. My wife joins with me in duty, and designs to write, as soon as ever she can give you a better account of her health than I am at present able to send you.

I am ever

Your Lordship's most obedient,
and faithful son and servant,

WM. MORICE.

XXXVII. To Mr. SEMPLE.

SIR,

Montpelier, Jan. 31, 1728-9.

IT is ten days ago since I had the favour of your letter, which did not find its way hither so soon as it ought to have done. The news you were pleased to send me of Lady North's recovery was very agreeable. It was an addition to the pleasure, that I had not heard of her illness, till I was assured it was over. My Lord† called upon me here in his passage, and dined with me. He is, I suppose, not attending the Court in its ramble, but fixed in his quarters at Barcelona. I knew nothing of his being in town till I saw him at my lodgings, and

* See vol. II. p. 426.

† Lord North and Grey ; see vol. II. p. 415.

was glad to find that when he left Paris he left all his scruples there behind him.

You are satisfied, by this time, how far your news is true, of a division among the Whigs, which I do not apprehend will discover itself much this Session in Parliament, or that the opposition made to the Ministers will in any remarkable degree cut up the measures resolved on, which I take it will not be so much upon the bounce as formerly, and yet will seem to be carried on with great steadiness and firmness. It is no wonder the two Plenipotentiaries have left none of their Secretaries behind them. Poyntz, and his Secretary, will answer all those purposes perfectly well. Our affairs here go * without needing any support. The interests of the two Courts are the same; and France will take care of ours if we happen to neglect them ourselves.

If Mr. Dumville be in Paris, be pleased to tell him that I return the civil enquiries as to his health, which you tell me he makes in relation to mine. I will not send him my services in a post letter, for fear of its being intercepted, and interpreted into some degree of criminal correspondence.

We looked upon our winter here to be very severe, till the accounts we had from all other parts convinced us that we were better dealt with than those at a distance. I murmured at first when the gout seized me at Montpellier; but I am satisfied since, that in any place North of this I had not fared so well, and there-

* Illegible.

fore imputed to my good luck that I came hither last autumn, and left you to freeze on the banks of the Seine. I suppose now you share the same mild weather we have had for a fortnight past. The air is as gentle here, and the sun as warm, as it is in England in the beginning of May. The consequence of which is, that the ill effects of my late gout have left me; and that, bating a little weakness in my legs (which, for want of use, I have not quite recovered), I am otherwise better than I used or ever hoped to be. I hope you, Sir, are well, and take my leave of you, with assurances of my being,

Sir,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

FRA. ROFFEN.

XXXVIII. FROM MR. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Westminster, April 7, 1729.

TWO of yours are come to hand, dated the 25th and 31st March *. The last, to me, is very short, but very welcome, as it contains the most desirable news we can receive, that of your being in such good health. The next best that you can send will be your having found out a convenient place where you may fix your residence nearer to us. My wife is pretty well; but the season is so very cold and bad, that she is not yet settled with the family at Holland House; as soon as she gets thither she will answer your favour of 25th March. I never remember such dismal weather at this time of the

* See vol. III. pp. 14. 16.

year. We have scarce any sign of spring, not a leaf to be seen on the trees, nor has the sun appeared (for more than the space of one hour) within these seven days. Perhaps you may have too much of it where you are, while we want a little of it to cherish us. I heartily wish myself out of such a climate, and like England less and less every day. This day my little son enters into the ninth year of his age. He has lately had a pretty bad sort of the measles, but is now perfectly well again. I wish the small-pox was as well over with him. He desires his duty to you; and so indeed he does often, though I do not tell you so.

I wonder Mr. P.* neglects writing to you. He is a very unaccountable man in many respects. You are very good to him, and he must think so. I am ever, most affectionately,

Your Lordship's most obedient son and servant,

WM. MORICE.

P. S. I have sad accounts from Buckinghamshire of the ill condition in which the house old Winckles lived in is at present. I have desired a particular account of what is wanting to be done to be transmitted to me by a person I can trust. When I have it, you shall hear further on that head.

XXXIX. From MR. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

April 14, 1729.

I AM apprehensive you will think me negligent, and blame me for not writing oftner to you by other channels than the common post. Indeed, I have had so

* Mr. Panton; see vol. III. p. 16.

little to say (more than what I have lately sent you in several packets, all which I have the pleasure to hear are safely received), that it was not worth while to seek after any other conveyance than the post to write by. All I can now say (by Mr. Hereford) is, what I am not well pleased to tell you, because the news will not be very agreeable. And first, I shall acquaint you, that the annuity of £. 50. *per annum*, which one would have thought might have been looked upon as a certainty (from Sir — —) is withdrawn. He did it, in as handsome a manner as he could, by letter to the gentleman, from whom I lately received your books, to be communicated to me. The reason of this proceeding will perhaps give you more concern than the discontinuance of the annuity. The gentleman's affairs are but in a bad condition. He has contracted large debts, and has a numerous family of children, and his fire-side increasing every year; so that the badness of his circumstances, more than want of health or eye-sight, has obliged him to come to the resolution of travelling and staying abroad for some time, in order to retrieve his affairs. In his letter to Mr. N. he expresses his hopes that this step, which necessity obliges him to take, will not be looked upon by the person, for whom he has the greatest veneration and respect, as want of zeal or affection, but that it will be attributed to the true cause, that of his inability (in his present circumstances) to continue that payment. I have little better news to send you in relation to my Welsh friend, and begin to fear my expectations and his promises will end in nothing. As to the Western gentleman, he never comes

near

near the town; so, if any thing happens to come from that quarter, it will be more than I depend on. As to your money affairs, all interest, you know, is at four *per cent.* and it is not very easy to get even that. Large sums of money are daily lent (as I am informed) at three and a half *per cent.* I have not yet been able to get in the £.800. lent on mortgage to Mr. Burgoyne*; nor has a shilling of interest been paid me, though there is an arrear of three years and upwards. Mr. Cotton not only advised, but desired me to advance that money. I wish you would take occasion to write me a few lines, in a separate paper, expressing your dissatisfaction that I cannot get in that money without trouble, and how unkindly you take it in Mr. Cotton, that he does not see it repaid, with interest. Such a letter from you would, I fancy, influence Mr. Cotton to finish this affair; else, pray, do you order me to proceed by law, and, after that, Cotton cannot blame me whenever I think proper to begin.

As to public matters, they go on in the old channel. Sir R—— carries every thing as he pleases, though the opposition he meets with in the House of Commons has, no doubt, sufficiently vexed and teased him this session; and the pamphlets which have been constantly published without-doors must have given him no little uneasiness. The *Craftsman* you see every week. That paper gives a pretty good insight into affairs; and many are still of opinion that the Great Man will scarce be able to hold his power a year longer, though I fancy that depends mostly upon the event of matters abroad; but the most judicious men, with whom I happen some-

* See p. 137.

times to converse, think he is so well riveted in the King and Queen's good graces, that they will not part with him.

I told you, in a former letter, that I apprehended I should be obliged to supply K. * with money, whether Mr. Cotton paid the £.200. remaining due on his note, or not. I cannot get that money yet of Cotton; but there is now a necessity of letting K. have money on account of the promise he claims from you of £.200.; for all subscriptions for his support have been long at an end, and folks are grown weary of continuing that bounty. Wherefore I have found it necessary to assist K.; and, that the £.200. may not be squandered away at once, and he left in want, I advance him six guineas *per* month. I hope you will approve of what I have done. Some people of rank (formerly your benefactors) sent to me on this head, and there was no avoiding my compliance in it.

Thus much of my letter is disagreeable enough; but, that it may end better than it began, I can tell you Mrs. Morice will have her health again. Dr. Wyntle declared yesterday, that he was now fully satisfied she would be perfectly recovered by the end of the summer; and she owns she finds herself better daily. She is got to Holland House, and you will soon have a letter from her. Your sealed packet without a superscription she received very safe, and took proper care of, as you directed her. The great lady of her acquaintance † is extremely civil, nay affectionate to her. She is now in the country. I am, with unalterable duty and affection,

Your Lordship's most obedient son and servant.

* Kelly.

† The Dutchess of Buckingham.

P. S,

P.S. Just now I receive the news of Mr. Burgoyne's* death, to whom I lent the £.800. So it is become more necessary than before, that you send me such a letter as I have mentioned, to be shewn to Mr. Cotton. Mr. S——n† continues the same worthy man he always was, and asks often after you.

XL. A Monsieur Monsieur SEMPLE.

Vigan, July 21, 1729.

MR. WATERS informed you, I doubt not, how very ill I have been, so as to be forced to take shelter here from the heats of Montpelier, whither I shall not return but to meet Mrs. Morice next September. I thank you for all yours, which I delayed acknowledging till I was not able to put pen to paper, which has been my case now for many weeks. At last I have recovered the use of my hand, and such a measure of health, as will enable me, in a few days, to spend my time here neither uselessly nor disagreeably, where I meet with all manner of civilities, and want very few conveniences that I can wish for. You will now and then let me hear from you. The same address, as usual, will find me, and find me always, Sir, your sure friend, and faithful humble servant, F. R.

P.S. Since the writing of this, yours of July 12 has reached me here in the mountains, where Mr. Sotheld has had his also. I find you have not been acquainted with the degree of illness I have had, and danger I was in; but it is all over. Your letters will reach me by the same address as formerly.

* Roger Burgoyne, esq. Clerk of the Warrants in the Court of Common Pleas (an office he had enjoyed for many years). He died April 13, 1729.

† Sheppen.

XLI. To MR. DIECONSON *.

SIR,

Montpelier, Dec. 4, 1729.

I HAVE your letter of the 15th of November, and am much obliged to you for the friendly concern you express in it as to the article of my poor daughter, of whom, seven days before the date of it, God was pleased to deprive me; upon a melancholy yet comfortable meeting I had with her at Toulouse, where she survived her arrival twenty-one hours, and spent that little time that was left her in such a manner as will make her memory ever dear and valuable to me. I thought nothing could have added to the affection and esteem I had for her: but I found myself mistaken in those last moments when she took her leave of me. She is gone, and I must follow her. When I do, may my latter end be like hers! It was my business to have taught her to die; instead of it, she has taught me. I am not ashamed, and wish I may be able to learn that lesson from her. What I feel upon her loss is not to be expressed: but a reflection on the manner of it makes me some amends. God has tempered the severity of the one by the circumstances of the other, and has dealt with me, as in the rest of his inflictions, so, as together with the great burthen he laid on me, to enable me, at the same time, in some measure, to bear it.

You will pardon me for entering into no other matter at present; not even that important one of the Peace,

* This name is probably a mistake for *Dickenfon*.

which

which they write me word from Spain is concluded, and by that means put an end to any hopes vainly conceived from these negotiations, and to all the ungrounded promises of the Spanish Ministers at Paris. I have no inclination to enlarge on such matters now, or to trouble you or myself with reflections on what passes on the other side either the Pyrenées or the Alps. The great Master of events has wise reasons in every case for what he does, in regard to the public or private persons; and we must submit to them, even when we do not comprehend or relish them.

I am, with true respect, Sir, &c.

XLII. TO MR. GEORGE WATERS.

SIR,

Montpelier, Dec. 4, 1729.

I TAKE very kindly your letter of November 22, which was more than seven days coming to me. Perhaps this will have the same fate before it reaches you. I am, I thank God, pretty well resigned and composed under what has happened to me; the rather, because I have little now to apprehend farther from any worldly accidents whatsoever; and can bear the better being without hopes, since I am not likely to have any new fears to disquiet me.

It seems, Mr. Stanhope has succeeded in his errand, and the Peace is made. So they write me word from Spain. God's will be done (as it must and will be done) every way! Mr. Morice wrote to you about returning me some money. If I do not hear from you by this day's post, I shall draw upon you for 2000 livres,

with

with which Marguerite will furnish me *gratis*, and take it of you by his correspondent in Paris. I am sorry I hear nothing as yet of the books which have lain so long in your hands for a passage. I hope Mr. Perier's address, which Mr. Morice sent you, has, ere this time, forwarded them. He sets out from hence the 17th, and will make the best of his way to you; but desires that his journey, and the time of it, may not be talked of. I am, Sir,

Your true and faithful humble servant,

F. R.

P. S. I find Mr. Morice did not send you Mr. Perier's address; but intends only to bring it with him, if the books are not sent beforehand.

XLIII. From Mr. MORICE *.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Paris, Jan. 7, 1729-30.

I BEGIN my letter on large paper, because I find, when I enter upon a letter to you of late, I make it very long. I expect to be chid for it; only I consider you are so much alone, that any thing may serve to divert you. I wish I could. You will wonder at my being still here. I set out for Calais to-morrow morning. The disappointment of a chaise has detained me two days; which I am the less sorry for, since I have found myself more out of order within this week, than I ever remember to have been. The hurry of my journey, and the want of sleep which has haunted me

* Indorsed by the Bishop, "Mr. Morice; with a copy of the Dutchess of Bucks' letter to him of Dec. 18, 1729; received Jan. 13, 1730."

of late, put my blood into no little disorder; but being so much alone here, and enjoying myself to myself, has set me pretty well again, without physick.

I told you I had paid Mr. Inese * a visit, the only person I have been to wait on, except Mr. Waters, in order to settle my account, and see how yours stood.

L'Abbé Southcott and Sir Peter had frequently, of late, called on Waters to enquire after me, and expressed their earnest desire of seeing me. I thought it therefore necessary to let them know of my being here; and they came in a moment to see me. Southcott and I had a melancholy meeting; the good man, at the sight of me, began to weep, and produced not a few tears in me. I find him extremely concerned for both you and me, at Mrs. Morris's death. He had an exceeding value for her; and my letters from England tell me every body had so there. Sir Peter, in his blunt way, declared the same thing; and, upon the whole, I find all our acquaintances here are sharers with us in our loss. It is indeed no more than I expected; for who could know her, and not love her?

I have stated your account with Waters, and find, after his remittance of the last 2000 livres to you on Marguerite, you stood debtor in his books in the sum of 1560 livres, or thereabouts; but I observe to you, that he had, at that time, a large sum of mine in his hands, out of which, I then told him, he must take it, if the balance of your account did not answer it. I have adjusted mine with him, and have ordered 5000 livres, part of what was due to me, to be transferred to your credit; so that your credit at present upon his books is

* See vol. III. p. 86.

5320 livres. Upon your notice of this, you will please to give me directions what farther sum I shall remit to you upon my arrival at Westminster.

While I am writing this, your letter of 27 December is brought me. I am unwilling to enter again upon the subject of Mrs. Roberts*, who happened to pen the letter very ill which I sent you; but I have several here from her, which I am sure you would not be displeased with, and which I would send, but that the postage would cost too much; and I have not time to copy them. As to what your servants agree, I freely own, it has not very much weight with me. I have reason to have a better opinion of her (who is no ways to be put upon a level with any of them) than what they would inculcate to your Lordship. And I hope my last letter (of which I kept no copy, but upon this occasion beg your Lordship will let one be taken and sent me) has been, in some measure, satisfactory to you. Your servants agree, my Lord, in making me a cypher. Could she possibly shew all that disrespect, which your servants would have it believed, to Mrs. Morice's memory, and even before her death (as *George*, it seems, tells you); and I, who was scarce ever absent from her, take no notice of it? I am sorry, my Lord, the matter has been carried so far by your servants, and so much given into by yourself, because, I am sure, the woman is wronged; and I shall part with her, though, I verily believe, to the disadvantage of my domestic affairs, since you have taken up an ill opinion of her. I am glad to hear Jack is sent off, though at the expence of paying for his voyage.

* See vol. III. pp. 86. 89.

I am touched at the usage the good D. of O. has met with at home. I will make a proper use of the authority I have, to discourse Mr. Hutcheson, and hope his Grace will soon find the good effects of it. You shall have a faithful account of my conferences on that head.

Mr. Lloyd, as my last told you, has undertaken to provide an house for you as soon as he can meet with one proper for you. I have spoke to the Master of Sempill, who will do his diligence on the same head, and assist Mr. Lloyd in it. The next day, after the present of the ten louis d'ors, he came to see me again; and my Lord his father accompanied him. Both of them are full of professions of the highest esteem and regard for you. I find, by young Semple, and every body else, that you are greatly in esteem here; though it is well known you do not concern yourself in Mercer's affairs; and he is both pitied and blamed for making use of such poor tools as he does. Lord Marr is not, as I hear, retired to Liege, but to Antwerp; and all agree that the occasion of his retreat was his debts.

I shall give immediate directions to Waters to transmit the £.2000. you order; and you need not be under any doubt for want of money. Whenever I have the least notice from you, I will remit to his hands whatever money you think fit to require; or, if you give the bill immediately on me, Waters has orders, and will supply you immediately.

I cannot account for the gentleman at Aix. It is, I own, surprizing. Mrs. Roberts sends me word Mr. Howard is arrived at Bourdeaux, and lodged at the very same house. It is strange you have no news,

either

either from him, or from Labroquere. I will send two lines to him at Bourdeaux on that head.

I have been running over the Duchess of Buckingham's letter, which I have pretty well decyphered ; and find there was not a little of my own stupidity that hindered me from perfectly understanding it sooner. Though it is late, I will copy it over ; for I am sure it will give you pleasure, as it is really a kind letter, and written with a good deal of judgement. She mentions not Mrs. Morice who is gone, but the children who survive ; after whom she never made the least enquiry during the mother's life. She then enters upon another subject, to divert my thoughts. I question not but you will like the letter as well as I do. I have sent you a copy of it, after correcting the little mistakes which hurry in writing might occasion.

My last letter from Bourdeaux bears date 31 December, and tells me the time for the ship's sailing was not then named ; and I plainly see it is not to be expected to arrive till towards the end of January. This expedition has been every way unlucky. Dear Mrs. Morice, when alive, was about ten weeks in getting to Bourdeaux ; and her precious corpse is like to be detained there for a longer time. This unexpected delay makes me in no great haste to get home ; and I shall probably tarry some few days at Calais. My next letter will bear date from that place.

I am, with unalterable respect and duty,

My honoured Lord,

Your ever faithful and obedient son and servant,

WM. MORICE.

P. S. The

P.S. The seeming indecency paid to dear Mrs. Morice's corpse, in putting it so soon on ship-board, has made me think often of it, and make enquiries on that head; and Mr. Waters, the Master of Sempill (who happened to mention the difficulty that usually attended the sending away dead bodies), as well as others, agree that it is a matter which causes a good deal of trouble, and that those which pass by way of Rouen (as several have done) are always hurried on ship-board with the greatest expedition, to prevent divers sorts of inconveniencies. This I am willing to inform you of, as it may moderate your concern on that head, as in reason it must mine; and if any thing has been done wrong in that matter, Mr. Coppinger takes it on himself.

XLIV. From MR. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Calais, Jan. 14, 1729-30.

I ARRIVED yesterday at this place; so, deducting the time I staid at Lyons and Paris, I have been only fourteen days on the road from Montpellier hither. You must allow I have been no lazy traveller. The Marquis appears to be the same sort of man I have represented him to you. He is just sailed for Calais, leaving me to return you his sincere respects. I stay here two or three days longer, hoping to receive some news from Bourdeaux that the ship is sailed, or upon the point of sailing from London. I shall settle the correspondence by Mollien; and what letters you write that way, addressed to me, must be put under a cover

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supercribed

superfcribed to Mr. Samuel Baldwin, in Maiden-lane, Covent-garden; and there must be a second cover, directed, a Mons. Louis Mollien, Marchand à Calais. Mr. Mollien will take care to convey all letters that come to him, *for Mr. Baldwin*, by a private channel, as we have agreed on.

Mr. Mollien has delivered me your letter of 30th December, which is, as you say, the sixth you have favoured me with. I hope you think I have not been backward in writing to you; I am sure I am not so in thinking of you; and my full intention is to become more your son-in-law, if possible, than I have ever yet been. By such behaviour I shall reckon I shew my love and regard to my dear wife's memory. The weather during our whole journey from Montpellier (excepting the day the chaise happened to break, and obliged me to ride post to Vienne) has been extremely fine and favourable beyond expectation. Languedocian days attended us almost to Calais, and yesterday was as fine and clear a day as was ever seen. To-day, indeed, is very foggy and uncomfortable. I wonder the books Mr. Brun sent you from Lyons were so long on the way to you. He seems to be a good sort of man, as well as a good Protestant; and you cannot, I think, serve yourself better than by employing him in any thing you may want whilst you continue in those parts. Whenever you receive the chaise back, and perfectly repaired as I hope it will be, you may venture to pay the charges of repairs with great satisfaction; for the Marquis agrees with me, that there cannot be a more easy one. We often thought of it on our way from Paris hither;

ther; where we hired one, that proved not only intolerably uneasy, but so rotten in every part, that something was out of order and wanted mending almost every post, and we were in hourly danger of being laid down in the road. If our journey had been a post longer, it would certainly have set us down before the end of it. Indeed it was a sort of Providence that we arrived at this place without broken bones. I wish the same good luck had attended our voyage to you. Good weather and good luck would have been much more welcome to me, when my dear Mrs. Morice could have partaken of both. The journey from Paris hither afforded me, as I knew it would, great room for reflection. Every place I passed by reminded me of the dear companion I used to have with me; and I have the same complaint with your Lordship of want of sleep a-nights. Yours, I hope, will soon be removed; I am younger, and can and ought to bear it much longer. I perfectly agree with you, that, notwithstanding the several good qualities that center in Mr. Bose, there is no dealing with him without having one's eye-teeth. The Marquis has acquainted me with a present of fine Hungary water, which his uncle has sent me from Cette. That will require some suitable return on my side; and so I reckon, after your departure for Paris, that sort of correspondence will end.

The copy of your letter of 31st December to Rome (which is very properly adapted) shall be communicated to the person you intend it for. God grant I may soon send you good news that all the packers I had under my charge are safe in the hands they ought to be.

L 2

My

My utmost care and conduct shall not be wanting, and I hope both will succeed. I am not a little uneasy, and shall continue so, till all are well received. I take care to publish every where my intention of parting with my office, and of settling with you at Paris; and for that purpose, that I have ordered an house to be taken there. It shall also be made known in England, before I make any direct application. Horace, they say here, is actually declared Secretary of State in Lord Townshend's room, which does not look as if Sir Robert had thoughts of retiring. You may depend on all the accounts of public affairs, as well as private, that I can send you from the other side.

I hope the long letters I wrote to you from Paris all reached you; and that nothing I may have said in them will be construed amiss. I mean every thing with deference and respect, at the same time that I offer my opinion whenever it does not entirely hit with yours, always submitting every thing to you: and, though the exclusion of Mrs. Roberts (under whose care the children shall never fall, as you apprehend, since she is a person who, though she would teach them no ill, yet she is not, I think, sufficiently capable to instruct and improve them in the manner they ought to be); I say, though the exclusion of her from my family will, I am sure, be a detriment to me in my domestic affairs, and in that respect I shall never be so well served; yet I shall comply with every thing you desire, and in the manner you desire.

Why have you not sent for Dr. Laroquette? I beg you again and again to have him near you; and that you
would

would not neglect yourself. The accounts you send me of your state of health grieve me, at a time when I have more on my spirits than they can well bear.

I left behind at Boulogne the diary * and letter, which gave every body that read it a true concern. It has the same effect here, and Simon Francia and his family seem as much touched as any body.

I shall scarce write to you again on this side the water. You shall have the first news I can send of my being well on the other. You may expect a few lines dated from Dover. I now want much to be at home, though I shall meet with fresh occasions of renewing my grief there. How can I well bring myself to be easy in the same place where I have enjoyed so great a share of happiness, of which I am now deprived for ever? Those very comforts, the poor children she has left behind her, will serve frequently to renew my sorrow, and make me lament their misfortune as well as my own. Adieu, my good Lord; and believe I am, and ever shall be,

Your faithful and affectionate

WM. MORICE.

XLV. To Mr. SEMPLE.

Montpelier, Feb. 4, 1729-30.

I RECEIVED all your letters, and thank you for all of them; which have (of late) made me amends for the want of them for some time beforehand. But I consider you have new acquaintances, and other ways of spending your time more agreeably and more usefully

* See vol. III. p. 68

than in writing letters to a man so distant and so useless as I am. I will take the first proper occasion I can to mention you to the D. of O. in the manner you desire *; though I had rather the occasion were given me than that I should take it. What I say would, in probability, have the greater effect. I suppose, by the time this reaches you, you will have heard that the stocks are risen, upon the Speech and Addresses † of Tuesday last. I doubt not but they will all of them express the utmost firmness in the points insisted on by Spain, and which are never to be gained but by an open rupture.

Is it not barbarous in the good Lord Mar's friends, on the other side, to keep him here drinking Burgundy, when he so earnestly desires to go over, and can do them so little good by remaining here? And yet I fancy he will hardly go but in company, and not be distinguished by any favour in that respect. I am sorry for what you tell me of another person ‡: I did not think him capable of acting so low a part. Is it true, that he has written a Play lately? I do not mean the D. of W. whom I think of in another manner, wishing him every thing in this world that may do him real pleasure and service. I am got rid of my gout; but have not been yet abroad. We have lost our frost for near a fortnight; and the air is now as mild and warm as it uses to be towards the middle of May in England. I add no more at present, but that I am always, Sir,

Your faithful friend and most humble servant, F. R.

If you had forgot my address, he by whom you sent your last could have informed you.

* See p. 156.

† See vol. III. p. 90.

‡ Over this is written *Lansdown*.

XLVI. To Mr. SEMPLÉ.

SIR,

Montpelier, Feb. 21, 1729-30.

I HAVE both yours, and thank you for both; being well pleased not to have known any thing of your indisposition till you were relieved from it.

As to what you write about Lorrain, I know not what your aim in that case is. I desired to be recommended to the Duke of Lorrain; and, whatever it is, it may keep cold till we meet at Paris; when, after learning more particularly your intention, I shall tell you my judgment freely in the matter, and assist you in whatever is thought practicable to the best of my power. But at present, I think, it will be to no purpose to enter farther into that matter. You are in the right in thinking that you may speak your mind freely and safely to me on any head. But as to your conjecture about Col. O.'s writing about the affair of Sir T. B.*, it might be so; but in my conscience there was no need of it, in order to bring that affair to the K.'s ear, it being sufficiently known at Rome, and discoursed of.

The libel posted up is as foolish as it is insolent, and either must have been written with a design of hurting the Jansenists, or they themselves must be madmen.

Mr. Knight's desiring to see Mr. M. with whom he is noways acquainted, is a surprize to me; and shall suppose there is some mistake in that matter till you tell me you are sure of it.

* The following sentence is here interlined in another hand: "Tobit Burke's daughter was reported to be in the Chevalier's graces, in order to hurt her father's interest in the Court of Rome. They say this was spread by Obrian."

If you hear any thing sure of last Thursday's debate in the House of Commons about the State of the Nation, I desire an account of it. The Lords have had their day on that head also.—I find the getting a proper House is more difficult than I imagined. However, that shall not hinder my motions at the time appointed; and I should be glad to be recommended to a clear apartment in some private house, or public hotel, till I can get into a house of my own. My heavy baggage will move your way in about a fortnight; and I shall (for I must) follow it in a month afterwards. Till then, let me frequently hear from you, and particularly what you hear from good hands in relation to the debates and struggles now carried on at home, with more heat than I expected.

Adieu, and believe me always faithfully yours.

XLVII. To Mr. SEMPLE.

SIR,

Montpelier, March 2, 1729-30.

I HAVE both yours of February 18 and 23, which arrived since I wrote to you on the 21st. I thank you for your letters, and desire you to continue them frequently for the little time I am to stay here: from whence, you know, I can have but little to say worth imparting: and therefore, if you do not hear from me, you will impute it to my unwillingness to put you to the expence of a letter of mere civility, and will not on that account desist from writing to me. I wonder what Mr. Salkeld means by saying he had sent me the Hue and Cry after Mr. Walpole. I have neither received
that

that nor any letter since January 13 from him; and hope from thence, that he is hard at work for himself, and better employed than in writing to me. But of this you will be pleased to take no manner of notice.

Stanhope's ruffle with the Ministry was, I suppose, merely on his own private account. He wants to have his expences made good to him, and thinks his long services abroad deserve some better reward than a title—perhaps the Lieutenantcy of Ireland. I am glad what you wrote first of Lord Strafford proves a mistake. I find matters grow every day warmer in England, both within doors and without, notwithstanding this peace, which was thought sufficient to allay opposition; and shall be glad to know particularly how the debates on the great day passed, which I think was February 16.

Forbes's letter was of the 18th of January, and did not (as appears by yours that inclosed it) come to your hands in a month afterwards. He must therefore have mistaken in dating it; for it could not have stayed so long by the way. He tells me, that he shall be in Paris the middle of this month. I shall scarce be able to come till the end of April; and then I must go to some hotel till I can pitch upon some proper house, for as yet none is provided for me. Lord Seaforth, I suppose, comes to bring home his lady and family. I shall be concerned if so honest a man as Mr. Miffler* should have any just cause of uneasiness. His sufferings, that were intended to depress and disgrace him, ought

* Editor of *Fog's Journal*, who was obliged to fly from his country for treasonous practices.

to render him, in the eyes of those for whom he suffered, more valuable; and I hope it will prove so, that others may not be discouraged. He will have what he wishes, I believe. This session can hardly pass without an Act of Grace to close it; it being without precedent, that a new Prince should meet his Parliament four times without one, especially a Parliament that has been so liberal in the revenue settled upon him.

Obrian has the gout. You see the gout is a ministerial evil, and follows the men of business and consequence. I have had nothing of it this whole winter, and but a very slight touch of the cold; which has prevailed of late as generally here as it did at Paris; and, as I far as I can find, has been more fatal. Half the town are sick, and many have died of it; and the case is the same throughout all our neighbourhood. Pray let me know in your next how my Lord Sempill and the family do. I have heard nothing from them now for near three months; nor how they escaped the illness that prevailed at Paris. I am glad yours was of so short a continuance; and shall apprehend you are out of order when I do not hear from you often. I will give you notice when I set out; and till then you may direct hither to me.

I am always faithfully yours,

F. R.

What is become of Mr. Carte? when does he return? or is he to stay where he is, and follow the example of Lord Lansdown?

XLVIII. From Mr. MORICE.

MY HONoured LORD,

Monday, March 2, 1729-30.

I AM so employed at present, that I have scarce time to tell you of a most extraordinary piece of good fortune that has befallen me. Last Thursday the famous Col. Charteris surrendered himself at the Old Bailey, and the same day was tried for a rape, and found guilty of it. On Saturday he received sentence of death. By this conviction I am become entitled to all his effects in the Liberty of Westminster, which are very considerable. I have already possessed myself of some thousand pounds value, and am in pursuit of a vast deal more. I have a prospect of getting twenty thousand pounds, perhaps it may turn out thirty*. This news will, I am sure, be agreeable to you; and therefore I do not lose the first post to let you know it. I can mind no other business but this affair, and every hour brings me some good tidings. Among other things, I gain an estate of about £.400. *per annum* in leasehold houses, of which there is 37 years to run out. I have likewise seized 24 fine horses, among which there is the finest pad in England, which I shall reserve to bring over with me for your use. This accidental good luck is so surprizing, that it seems a dream, but it is a true one. It will add to my satisfaction to hear of your health, which will always be first in my wishes; for I am, my honoured Lord,

Your most affectionate, and dutiful son and servant,
WM. MORICE.

All the children are well.

* See vol. II. p. 91.

XLIX. To Mr. SEMPLÉ.

Montpelier, March 15, 1729-30.

I THANK you for yours of March 8, as likewise for that of February 28. Both were very welcome: but you should not direct *pour faire tenir*—but under two covers: the inner one to Malherb, the outward to Basson.

You are mistaken in the point of the person to whom Lord Clare has lately given a commission. That matter was neither set afoot nor finished by the hand you mention; though that hand also was directed to interpose in it.

I am desirous of hearing how the D. of Wharton's affair ends, and what reflections are made on this last motion to Rome, which may end, perhaps, in making it your place of residence. When I have an answer to my letter written into Spain, I will impart it to you. It was full in your behalf, as you yourself can wish; I mean, as to your character; but, as I told you, I went no farther.

I have since thanked Sir P. R.* in strong terms also, for all his kindness to you; and believe that step will do no harm.

I wish I could see the Duke's Reasons for being a Jacobite, and Wolfe's Letter to Walpole,—that I may judge of their meaning, who think it wise to conceal them.

What Court in Europe is that, to which it is supposed the Pretender is to be sent?

* Sir P. Redmond. See vol. II. pp. 368. 411. vol. III. p. 107.

You

You shall hear from me again about the end of this month; and, in the mean time, and always, depend upon me as your firm friend and humble servant.

If you hear any thing more of Normandy, pray let me hear it.

Pray keep your eye on Mrs. A's motions.

Do not entertain fears about your pension; they are groundless.

Pray find out a sure hand, for a purpose of which Mr. Waters will inform you.

I. From Mr. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

July 1, 1730.

THOUGH it will not, in all probability, be very long before I shall be with you myself*, I shall not let Mr. Elliot go away without sending a line by him. I am no less sensible, than vexed, at your being displeased at not hearing more frequently from me by such opportunities; but the circumstances I have been under, since we last parted, have been such, as in great measure may plead my excuse. You may remember how long I was confined, when I first came over, in a most melancholy way, and kept at home for above six weeks, till the precious remains of my ever dear and never-to-be-forgotten wife arrived, and were laid in the ground. Scarce was that melancholy ceremony over, than the conviction of Charteris happened, an affair which has employed and perplexed me ever since, and has taken me off from attending almost every thing else. I thank God, it is in a way of being ended at last†; and

* He obtained a sign manual for that purpose on the 6th of July; see vol. III. p. 93.

† See pp. 155. 159. and vol. III. p. 91.

I shall heartily rejoice when it is, it has caused me so much anxiety and vexation; but a good determination of it will, I hope, make me amends. By these means I have really been less acquainted, and so less capable of sending you an account of what has happened this last winter in public matters than ever I was. So little has fallen within my notice of what little has passed in Parliament and elsewhere, that the public prints have been the best intelligence I have met with, and have given a much better relation of what was doing than I could do. As to private affairs, I lost no time in letting you know that every thing I brought over with me came safe, and was well received. I consulted about the scheme of applying to a certain great man, for leave to dispose of my office, with an intention of retiring and living with you; but the person (whom you made acquainted with the matter), upon the best judgement of matters, as things then stood, thought it much better to defer stirring such a proposal, believing it would not take effect and answer the purpose intended; and when Charteris's affair happened, it was then become necessary for me to hold my employ till I saw a good end of that lucky accident. Besides, it was then thought (and still it may very possibly come to be the case) that public affairs might have received a different turn than they have yet taken; that measures might have been changed, and other hands be employed. In that expectation it was better not to apply in the way proposed, but wait for a better opportunity. But I will forbear saying more on these heads; since it cannot be long before I shall be with you, and explain every thing in a full manner to you.

The

The bearer, whom I look upon as a very plain honest man, has been employed in making some mourning-rings in memory of dear Mrs. Morice. He carries one for you, which you will set some value upon, as there is some of her hair in it. I hoard up every trifle that belonged to her; though, as often as I see any thing of hers, my deep concern for the loss of her is revived, and my grief on that occasion redoubled. I was going to say something to you about the monument * intended for her; but my heart is too full to enter on that gloomy subject. I must give over, and, with all duty and respect, bid you adieu!

My eldest daughter has sent me the inclosed from school. She is highly delighted at receiving a letter from you.

My Park neighbour is very well, and the same friend as ever. Perhaps the journey to Spaw may be laid aside; however, that to Paris will take place.

LI. From MR. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Westminster, July 9, 1738.

THE affair of Charteris is in a nearer way of being finished than when I last wrote to you; but he is such a sort of man to deal with, that it is very hard to tie him down to any thing, especially in a case wherein doubts and difficulties daily arise; and what he agrees to, under hand, one day, he is unwilling to stand to the next. However, the agreement I have

* See vol. II. p. 160, and vol. III. p. 90.

lately

lately entered into with him, and to which he has put his hand, will bind him; and I reckon I shall have the money, or good security for it, in less than a month: if not, I shall leave the matter in as good hands as I can, and hasten over to you, for I long to be with you. I hope Walter will set out next week. My Park neighbours begin their journey to Dover next Monday, and proceed directly to Paris.

I now give you the news of my brother Obby's safe arrival from China. He came home to me last night, where he shall find the same reception and friendship as when his dear sister was alive. He has not had an hour's illness since he was abroad. He tells me he has made this voyage without contracting any debts: so, although he brings no money in his pocket, yet there is a reformation for the better. Captain Elliston has been extremely kind to him, and the good usage he has met with has reconciled him better to a seafaring life than he ever was before. I have not yet seen the Captain; after I have, I shall be able to send you a particular account how he has behaved in general. He designs to write to you himself.

I have fresh hopes that the thousand pounds will be raised and paid very soon; but no great thanks to the new-married man for it.

I am, with all duty and respect,

Your Lordship's most faithful son and servant,

WM. MORICE.

LII. From Mr. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Dover, Thursday night, 16th July, 1730.

I ARRIVED here with the Dutcheſs and Duke of Buckingham this day in the afternoon; and, as they are to ſail to-morrow morning, I have only time to tell you, that my attendance on them has been very acceptable; and I heartily wiſh my affairs could have been finiſhed, ſo that I might have continued the journey with them to Paris: I ſhall not be a month behind them. You are in as high eſteem with her Grace as ever; and you will know ſo, as ſoon as ſhe is reſted a little at Paris. The remittance for the £.1000. to the D. of O.* was made by Mr. Arbuthnot (who accompanies her Grace of Buckingham to Paris) laſt Monday night; and, to prove how much I had that matter at heart, it is I who have advanced the money, without any hopes of having it re-paid me in a long time; but the intereſt will run on, and improve the principal for my children. I thought ſome part of my gains by Charteris was well employed, as it turns ſo much to the good D——r's † ſervice; and will alſo be a piece of ſervice acceptable to you. I am tired with riding, and otherwiſe buſy; ſo ſhall add no more, but that you may depend on my haſtening to you ſoon. I return to London to-morrow, and ſhall not loſe a minute in ſettling my affairs. I beg

* See vol. III. p. 98.

† Dowager; (*i. e.* the Dutcheſs of Buckingham.)

your blessing for myself and little family. The two girls dined last Sunday at Buckingham House; and her Grace was extremely fond of them. She thinks the eldest very like her mother, and both of them fine children. I am ever

Your Lordship's most affectionate son and servant,
WM. MORICE.

LIII. From Mr. MORICE *.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Cahis, Sept. 13, 1730.

AFTER many delays, I am at last got well to this place; and was so lucky as to be not longer than three hours and an half in getting from Dover hither. I shall set out to-morrow morning for Paris; not in the chaise you sent down by Alexander, for it is in too bad a condition to venture upon such a journey with. I must leave it here to be well repaired, and shall make use of one of Mr. Francia's chaises. I met your letter at Dover, wherein you seem not over desirous I should bring over horses with me; so I have sent back my saddle horses, and have only brought a pair of geldings to draw your coach; and I have no other servant than a groom to carry your horses gently up to Paris. If you have not a coachman ready, a good one should be found as soon as possible. I shall now soon be with you, and hope to find you perfectly recovered from the gout.

I am ever, my honoured Lord,

Your truly affectionate son and servant,

WM. MORICE.

* Directed, "A Monsieur Monsieur Roberts, chez Monsieur Waters, Banquier, Rue du Battoir, à Paris."

LIV. From Mr. MORICE *.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Holland House, Thursday, ^{21 Jan.}
1 Feb. 1750-32

I ARRIVED here last Sunday evening in perfect good health †. I made so much expedition, that the letter you designed me at Calais reached that place two hours after I sailed from thence; but the gentleman to whose care it was recommended lost no time in forwarding it to me; and it came to my hands this afternoon. I was pleased to see you could make such good use of your hand. I found all my little family well; and the three children were not a little rejoiced to see their papa, and hear that their grandpapa was pretty well. They all desired their duty to you, without being put in mind of it.

* At the back of this letter the Bishop has writtten,
 "Mr. Morice, Feb. 1, 1731; Mr. Lloyd and Bulkeley.
 received Feb. 8. Mr. Stert.
 Brought away the hat. Kelly's affair.
 4448 livres more sent. Voltaire's mention of me.
 Letter about sign manual. Falsehood of my advising
 English Dictionary and the D. of O.
 pamphlets. Sandiland and Arbuthnot.
 Pope talked with. Barnby's letter.
 Watch sent back, with ac- Two pieces of Burgundy.
 count from the maker. Papers with the Dictionary;
 Lord and Lady Foley com- such as he had at hand in his
 plimented. shop, I suppose.
 D. of O. and Sir R. Ed. Bill on Waters.
 affairs. Sir R. E's letter.
 Salkeld's affair. Mr. Williams coming over;
 A Pad. by him I expect watch, &c."

M 2

I have

I have not been able to stir from hence since I came. My baggage, with all my cloaths and linen, being sent up by the Dover waggon, I shall not get them before to-morrow morning. I shall then make my appearance abroad, and begin to dispatch business.

The first of your commands you see I have got executed, and here inclosed you have Messrs. Cantillons' bill for 4448 livres Tournois, value of two hundred pounds sterling. It is at the best rate of exchange I ever remember. You gain above 100 livres more than the last remittances. I pressed Mr. Cantillon, in my letter to him this morning, to do justice; and I think he has done it amply.

Mrs. Lloyd left Holland House the Tuesday before I arrived. I design soon to wait on her in town. All civilities were paid her when here; and Mrs. Roberts made it her endeavour to please her. When I am a little at leisure, and can spend some days here, I shall perhaps call and bring her down to pass some of the spring here.

I have received a letter from Mr. Stert, at Seville, written a few days before I sent him mine. It is the most satisfactory one he ever sent me, for an order is signed for payment of one thousand pounds within the year in part of my demands; and the other payments will follow in course. When you write to the gentleman who speaks so obligingly of me in his letters, please to make him my most grateful acknowledgments.

I conclude our friend in the Rue St. Etienne visits you frequently. Give me leave to send my services to him
through

through you. I am, and can never be otherwise than,

My honoured Lord,

Your most dutiful and affectionate son and servant,

WM. MORICE.

Thomas has indeed brought away the hat*; but I will deduct money enough to buy a new one for another servant, out of his wages. The boy has behaved extremely well ever since he left Paris, and been very handy and useful to me.

LV. From Mr. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD.

Westminster, February $\frac{11}{22}$, 1730-31.

LAST post brought me your favour of the 14th †; and I am sorry to find you have any remains of the gout still about you. It had used you bad enough before I came away; and I was in hopes you would not have heard any more of it for a long time. However, your writing shews it had not very much disabled your right hand. I now send you, according to your orders, another bill, upon the same advantageous terms as the last, for the value of two hundred pounds sterling. I have been in a constant hurry ever since I came over; and shall be so for some time to come: however, I have not neglected the affair recommended to me by the *Knight* just before I left Paris; and I gave him some account of it, in a letter, under Mr. Waters's cover, by the last post; and I believe he is made pretty easy, for

* See vol. III. p. 98.

† Ibid.

the present, by the advance of five hundred pounds, which a friend has made him, and in which I was instrumental. I have also done Salkeld some little service, and put his affairs in the way he could wish. I am glad the English Dictionary is at last arrived *, after a journey of many months. Pray, did it come alone? It ought to have been attended with many other things. The Bible, I am this day told, could not be got ashore, and that it is come back again; but several other books and papers must have miscarried, if you have not received them. Your watch is under the maker's hands; and the moment it is put in good order, I shall endeavour to send it you, together with an account of what damage it had received. I have not forgot what I promised to transmit about the sign manual, but I have not had sufficient leisure to turn over half my papers; as soon as ever I meet with it, you shall certainly have it. I have, by accident, missed seeing my Twickenham friend. Letters have passed between us with much friendship; and we both want to meet. I hope it will not be long first, though the weather has been so bad, that it has confined every body at home. I find the season has been as rough with you at Paris. Pray take due care of your health; and fail not, every fine day, to exercise the berlin and horses, and do yourself good, by taking the air. As to the mare, I am sorry she proves such a burthen: it lies at the farrier's door, to get a chap for her; and, if she fetches half the money given for her, you will still be no great

* See vol. III. p. 99.

loser. The hire of a horse, only for a few weeks, would have cost more. Pray, when you write, make my compliments where I desire they may be well received. Mr. Stert, you see, is much my friend; and when you have an opportunity of sending that way, I wish he, and every body there of my acquaintance, might know the due sense I have of their favours.

I am just returned from the City, where I have been all day upon business; and it is now so late, that the bellman calls for this letter; so I must finish it, and subscribe myself, my honoured Lord,

Your ever obedient, and
most faithful son and servant,

WM. MORICE.

My two daughters, who are now at home, desire their grandpapa's blessing, and send their duty.

LVI. From Mr. MORICE.

MY HONoured LORD,

Westminster, February 19, 1730-31.
March 2,

YOURS of the 16th instant, N. S. * reached me safely, as every one you shall send by the hands of Francia will. It brought me two inclosed letters. Since the gentleman who writes to me is not likely to change his habitation, but to continue longer where he is, I shall very soon discourse the new-married man on the subject of the remittances, which ought to be put on a better foot than they are at present; and I en-

* See vol. III. p. 92.

tirely agree with you, that Mr. H——n* will never come into any alteration, so as to remove the business out of Arbuthnot's hands, but upon the foot of saving money by remittances directly from hence to the place where the gentleman resides. I shall not therefore mention the scheme of remitting by the way of Bourdeaux. When I have concluded something with Mr. H——n, I shall answer the letters I have received, and, I hope, to satisfaction.

As to the Knight† at Chatou, I have lately written to him, and a sum of money has been advanced, which will extricate him out of his present difficulties, and make him easy for some time to come. I came at a lucky time to encourage the person's lending the money; and, for the future, I hope the annuity will be paid pretty punctually: I am promised it shall. The bearer is hurried away sooner than I expected, so I shall write less fully by him than I proposed. I have been here about a month; and, though far from having being lazy, have not made so much dispatch in my affairs as I could wish. My intention of selling the office has been made known abroad, and many purchasers are ready to treat with me. Some members of the Chapter have also been sounded about it; and I flatter myself that I shall obtain their consent, toward which, an handsome present towards finishing the Dormitory will not a little contribute‡. I do not judge it, as yet, a proper time to apply for another sign manual, on the footing I would have it. The Great Person§ (to whom I had an intention of ap-

* Hutcheson; see vol. III. p. 102.

† Sir R. Everard. See p. 163; and vol. III. p. 111.

‡ See p. 172; and vol. III. p. 115.

§ Sir Robert Walpole; see p. 173.

plying on that occasion) must grow into good humour before I attempt to ask such a thing of him. At present, the rubs he daily meets with in the House cannot fail galling him, and ruffling his temper pretty much. I am sorry Mr. Dartford is so silent, and surprized at your telling me you are not like to hear from him. I have not yet written to him from this side the water; whenever I do, it will go under your cover for your perusal. I have looked over best part of my papers, but have not met with the letter touching the sign manual. I have fretted at not finding it. The moment it comes to my hand you may depend on having it. If it should happen to have been destroyed, and not kept by me, I shall be most heartily vexed, since you desire so much to see it. It was written at a time when the affair of Charteris was upon my hands, during which interval I was more negligent of many things than I ought to have been. But I hope I shall yet find out this letter, and that it has only been mislaid. I sincerely wish that may be the case. I should transmit it to you with a great deal of pleasure. I have let Lord Foley know the concern you express for the loss of his son *; and he takes it very kindly. His Lordship is but in a bad way of health himself. I wish he may hold it long. I have not yet seen my Twickenham friend. The weather has been so bad, it has prevented any journey in the country; but I will now very soon take a ride to him, for I hear he is out of order. I shall take care to vindicate you on the head of Voltaire's quotation of you in his Preface †, as I have

* See vol. III. p. 100.

† Ibid. p. 103.

done, in another matter, to Mr. H——n, who seems now to believe what is affirmed by the Knight's letter to me; and, as often as that subject falls in discourse, I shall certainly put that point in a true light. Kelly is really very ill; and it is thought he cannot get the better of his illness. Whenever I mention him, I shall call him Mr. Blunt; and I shall soon write to you farther about him.

I am glad any thing has happened of late in public affairs where you are, that may render your situation more agreeable to you, and bring the persons you mention to a right conduct. The sister to one of them left Holland House soon after my letter arrived. I have since been to wait on her at her lodgings, and shall carry it very civilly towards her, though she is very difficult to be pleased, and has spoken to Mrs. Roberts, amongst others, to find her out a new lodging, that she is in not being to her liking. The gentleman of my kindred, who took care to ship off my brother A——*, is very much at your Lordship's service, and sends his dutiful respects. I add no more to this, for I shall add another letter this way. All the children are well, good, and dutiful; and beg your blessing.

I return you the gold repeating watch.

LVII. From Bishop ATTERBURY to ———.

SIR,

IT is true, I promised to give you my reasons why I thought the Court of Rome is, and must always be (the State of Europe continuing the same it now is),

* Atterbury.

the

the wisest Court in Christendom. But I did not think you would in good earnest have insisted upon my making good that promise, considering how unqualified I am for such an attempt by my education and inexperience.

I have lived till after threescore confined to an Island, which had no direct intercourse with the Court of Rome; and where therefore inquisitive men that stay at home can know but little of the state of it; and I less than others, by reason of my profession and way of life, remote from all public business except what I was obliged to attend in Parliament. My friends did not give me the opportunity of travelling when young; and my enemies have now furnished me with it a little too late; when, through age, want of limbs, health, and languages, I am incapable of reaping any advantage by it.

Take, therefore, the thoughts, or rather wishes, of a very ignorant man upon a very nice and difficult subject; and judge from hence what power you have over me, when I decline no task, how improper soever, which you are pleased to exact from me.

The wisdom of any Court is (I take it) to be measured from two points; their exact knowledge of their true interest; and their invariable pursuit of it. And in both these respects the Court of Rome seems to me to have great and manifest advantages over all the other Courts of Christendom. Though I cannot acknowledge the infallibility they claim in doctrines of Faith, yet I am willing to allow them something like it in matters of worldly policy and prudence, where they err very rarely, and are, by the very frame and constitution of their Government, rendered less capable of erring than any other State in Christendom. * * * *

(Imperfect.)

LVIII. From Mr. MORICE.

MY HONOURED LORD,

March 25, 1731.

WILLEMINE * is in as great a hurry here as he was at Paris, and does not give me time to write so fully as I could wish. Our Twickenham friend spent a day with me last week. He has written to nobody about the accommodation you took in hand, and imagines no one else has influence enough to bring it about. The only letter he has written on the subject is that you received when I was at Paris. I need not tell you of the friendship and veneration he has for you: his regard is not at all lessened by time or absence. Our discourse was full of you; nor was the memory of dear Mrs. Morice forgotten, for whom he had a vast value. He has got no draught by him of the intended monument, so I must desire you to send me over that I left with you, and let it be accompanied with your own observations and corrections. I shall answer the letter about the poor Duke of Wharton's affairs very soon. There is no room to do any thing for him †. I have called twice on the person who supplied the two pieces of Burgundy, but did not find him at home. I am sorry they do not prove good. I find the Marquis is preparing to quit his apartment, which I shall endeavour to come and take possession of as soon as I can bring my matters to bear. I have now prepared every thing in readiness to treat for the sale of the office ‡,

* See vol. III. pp. 108, 109.

† See vol. III. p. 411.

‡ See before, p. 168.

and

and shall, I hope, in a week or two's time, meet with a good chap. The new treaty, lately signed at Vienna, has given a new turn to the countenances of the Courtiers; and Sir Robert looks full of good humour, and triumphs upon it. I shall probably make my application to him about the sign manual very soon. The Parliament will not sit long; and just after the rising will, I believe, be a proper time to apply to him. When I write to the Knight at Chaton, it shall go to you open for your perusal. I have served him, whatever he imagines, and Carte owns it: for Mr. Allington, who (before I came over) gave Carte but a very cool reception, now behaves in a quite different manner; and the person who lent the £. 500. hesitated about it till I interposed. But, if the Knight thinks me of no use to him, I shall not much grieve; I am sure, I shall save a good deal of trouble by it.

The pamphlets and printed papers, which arrived after I came away, I must desire you will forward to Mr. Dartford by the messenger who is going to him: the Bookfeller did not send them over of his own head. I was desired to write for them, and did so accordingly. The English Bible is again sent over. I cannot tell whether it will have better success in being got on shore the second time; if it reaches you, you will let me know it. Arbuthnot is a very strange fellow, to detain your letters so long. He will be not a little vexed at a certain remittance being taken out of his hands; he well deserves it.

I have this day taken my eldest girl from school. She is to change her dress, and to wear a gown and petticoat,

petticoat, though she is very little of her age; but I hope the French air will make her shoot up apace. She is a very well-disposed good child, and has a good deal of her mother's likeness. She is overjoyed at the thoughts of being to go over to you this summer. She sends you her duty; and by the bearer goes a silk purse, of her own work, which begs your acceptance. Willem now calls for my letter. I shall therefore add no more, only that Pere Le Courayer, who is with me, desires to be remembered to you.

I have sent you the letter I have written in an hurry to her Grace open, that you may see it. You have my seal by you, with which to seal it. If any thing is improper in it, pray strike it out.

I am ever, most faithfully, my honoured Lord,

Your obedient, &c.

WM. MORICE*.

* On the back of this letter the Bishop has written :

S. R. Everard.

Sign manual.

Pamphlets with the Dictionary lost.

Wrought purse. I did not see the other brought by Willem.

Bible, and other pamphlets.

Burgundy—paid for 2 pieces.

If Spain accedes, and the peace be a good one, there is an end of — for some time.

Harlequin Dog.

Price of the Bible.

I read his letter to Sir Redmond.

Draught of the Monument.

Parting with his office.

A Horse.

Elixir, Daffy.

Linen.

Plate.

Tea.

Mr. Hall; and books by him.

Stratford's Epitaph.

Dean's speech.

Servant in Walter's room.

Book for Abbé des Fontaines.

Tea.

Daffy's Elixir.

Compliments to Mrs. Trubshaw.

1000 pounds in addition to the D. of O.

Sir J. Dolben's Sermon

/ LIX. To Mr. TAYLOR, of Bridewell.

SIR,

Paris, Dec. 14, 1731.

YOU will be surprized, and perhaps a little frightened, to receive a letter from me, after almost nine years interruption of our correspondence. But the occasion on my side is as extraordinary as the attempt, and will, I hope, excuse it. You cannot help being written to by me; nor is there any crime in it, if you reveal to a Minister of State the very first step of our intercourse: as I desire you would, for my sake as well as your own, in order to your obtaining leave, in form, to make an answer to what I now write, or shall hereafter write on the same subject. It is of such consequence to me, to have your advice and assistance, in an affair of law now depending, that I shall willingly be at the charge of a sign manual towards procuring it.

Sir, my elder and only brother, lately dead, has dealt more cruelly with me than the Act of Parliament did. For *that* left me the small temporal fortune I then had, and might afterwards justly expect, in order to keep me abroad from contempt and starving. But my brother, taking advantage from my circumstances, which, he knew, would render it difficult for me to question whatever he should do, has endeavoured to withdraw what the act itself intended I should enjoy, and to strip me, by an unjust will he has made, of the patrimony which by law belongs to me. A small estate in land, which he possessed, was, in default of issue male from him, entailed

tailed on me by my father. My brother has left no other issue but a daughter, who had a good portion assigned her, and inherits beside a good estate from her mother. To all this he has added, by his will, the bequest of all that land which my father, in such an event, gave to him only for life, and to me after his death : and, to alleviate and cover this injustice, he has given me an hundred pounds, by a codicil lately added to his will ; and has mentioned me there with esteem and dearness, after never having shewed any instance of either since I was abroad, or assisted me with one shilling out of his fortune at a time when he did not know but I might have stood in the utmost need of it. I am under no obligation, therefore, to suffer the unrighteous disposition he has made of an estate given me by my father to take place. If you shall find that my title to it is good, and will allow me your assistance in order to assert it ; I am persuaded, you will find no obstruction towards procuring leave for this purpose ; it being matter of common humanity and justice, and within the intention of the Act. As soon as you have obtained such leave, I will hope to hear from you ; and in the mean time have desired Mr. Morice to do what can be done by him at this distance, towards laying the proper evidences and instructions before you. He may be of more use, in furnishing these, upon his return, than he can be now. However, I am not willing to lose any time, when I have so little of it left, and my 70th year is (as you know it is) near approaching. Haste in this case is requisite, if I hope to be the better for what my father designed me, and thought he had,

without

without wronging any body, conveyed to me in due form of law: If he did so, and it really belongs to me, there is no man of worth or honour, who will think it unfit that I should be put by your means into a condition of recovering it. Be pleased to make the steps that are proper in this case, and to add this obligation to the others you have formerly laid on, &c.

LX. Mr. SHIPPEN to Mr. MORICE, at Paris.

DEAR SIR,

Holland House, January 6, 1731-2.

AFTER wishing you, and all with you, many happy and prosperous years, this comes to answer your questions concerning Radcliffe's benefaction. There is no more in the delay than the obstinacy of two of the Doctor's Trustees. He unluckily left an even number, four, *viz.* Mr. Bromley, Sir George Beaumont, Mr. Bacon, and Keck a scrivener. Mr. Bromley and Sir G. Beaumont have for some time been so desirous to begin the work, that they have even quarrelled with the other two, and contrived an application to the Court of Chancery, in order to have compelled them either to execute or to resign their trust. But the Chancellor made a silly evasive order, and would do nothing effectual. The two perverse men (who are much censured by all the well-wishers to the benefaction) say, they will comply with Mr. Bromley and Sir George when Mrs. Redshaw, or Rainshaw (the Doctor's sister), who hath £. 1000. *per ann.* during life, dies*. She is indeed

* The foundation-stone of the library was not laid till June 16, 1737; see vol. I. p. 457.

very old; but I do not see why the Scrivener (who is old too, and bedridden) should hope to survive her. However ridiculous it may seem, this is the true state of the case.

As to the other affair, I do not find that any body hath yet undertaken to write a Preface*; nor can it be done, as it ought to be, till Lord Clarendon's circumstances will permit him, or his relations, to communicate the MS. wherein Hampden's character is written in his grandfather's own hand. G. Clarke hath seen this MS. and had it a long time in his custody. It is not the large MS. from which the History was printed, but a small one relative to it. The large MS. is chiefly the hand-writing of one Mr. Shaw, who was secretary to the Chancellor, and his amanuensis when he had the gout and grew infirm. Mr. Shaw's son (a worthy gentleman) is now living, and can prove his father's hand, and many other things relating to the genuineness of the printed History. When the Parliament meets, I shall see every body concerned about this matter, and may perhaps be more exactly informed of all particulars. But this is the best account I can give you at present; and shall add no more on this subject, only transcribe a paragraph (in return for that which you copied in your last), out of a letter just now come to my hands, viz. *[One thing, it is wondered, has escaped the observation of Bishop Sprat, his successor Dr. Aldrick, &c. which is, that the character applied to Hampden is not Cinna's, but Catiline's, in Tully's third Oration against that Conspirator.]* I have Tully's Works in Norfolk-street; and, when I remove from hence thither (which will be in a day or

* See vol. III. p. 124.

two), I will examine into the truth of my Correspondent's remark.

I will not trouble you with any compliments for the long use I have had of the house. But it is fit I should at least thank you for it at parting, and I heartily do so. Mr. Edwards hath been two or three times to see me, and I intend to be present at his trial on the 27th instant, which (I believe) he will take as a civility, though he seems to be under no manner of apprehensions about the success of his cause. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged,

and affectionate humble servant,

WM. SHIPPEN.

My wife sends you her thanks likewise; and you may be assured her good wishes always attend you, and those with you.

I believe the conversion of the gentlemen you mention is occasioned rather by political than religious views; and yet I cannot guess what presents or future advantages they propose to themselves by it.

LXI. From Mr. MORICE *.

MY HONOURED LORD,

Calais, Thursday noon, January 25, 1731-2.

I ARRIVED here late last night, and, a fair wind presenting itself for Dover, am just now going to embark. I have had just time to pay Mr. Louis Mollien

* Addressed, "A Monsieur Monsieur Jean-Ange Beltoni, à Rome."

his disbursements for letters since I last settled with him; and he undertakes to convey any letter you shall send, *addressed to me*, by a private hand to London, so that it shall never fall into the hands of the Post-office. However, whenever you send me any under his cover, you had best remind him, by a line or two, that it is to go by a private conveyance.

You may also write to me under Mr. Simon Francia's cover. He has undertaken to transmit any letter that comes to his hands, either addressed directly to me, or to Mr. Samuel Baldwin, in Maiden-lane, Covent-garden (under whose cover you may choose sometimes, for change, to write to me). He will transmit any such letter expeditiously and carefully, so that it may never fall into any Post-house.

Thus much for correspondence. As soon as I get home, you shall hear of me again, and how the children do.

I have no more time at present to add any more. I am called on board ship this instant; so beg your blessing, and desire you will think me as,

My honoured Lord,

Your faithful, and ever obedient son and servant,

WM. MORICE.

P. S. If you would have the chaise sent up to you, you have only to send your orders on that head to Mr. Francia.

LXII. From Mr. BULKELEY.

MY LORD,

Early, Wednesday, February, 13, 1731-2.

I SPOKE yesterday to the Garde des Sceaux, who told me that your Lordship's request was very reasonable, but that he hoped there would not be soon a want of such an order as that you desired. He said he would speak to the Cardinal about it to-day; and, as I met him this morning coming from his Eminence, I asked him whether he had remembered his promise? He answered, no; but that he would order Mr. Herault, in case any accident should happen to you, to have the Sçellé put upon all your goods in the King's name, and that they shall be delivered to whomsoever you are pleased to prescribe. He asked me again, whether your Lordship was in any imminent danger? I answered, "No; but that it was a precaution which you thought necessary in case you happened to fail during Mr. Morice's absence."—"Why then," says he, "let him know that he shall have all satisfaction; but as to the Sçellé, it must go of course."

If your Lordship will have me do any thing farther in this matter, honour me with your commands at St. Germain's, where I intend to go this night, and shall stay there till Sunday. There is nothing new here, nor indeed any thing worth writing. I am, with constant respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble, and most obedient servant,

FRA. BULKELEY.

* Addressed, "A Monseigneur Monseigneur l'Eveque de Rochester, à Paris;" and indorsed, by the Bishop, "Mr. Bulkeley, Feb. 13, 1732, about the promise de Sceaux, concerning the Sçellé."

LXIII. From Mr. BULKELEY.

MY LORD,

Feb. 13, 1731-2.

I HAVE the honour to send your Lordship a letter I found at my return hither from M. de Daden-cour, by which you will find him very ready to forward the snuff when it shall come to his hands. He has or will receive this day the passport which I sent him last week.

The night before I left St. Germain's I received the honour of your Lordship's answer to my letter from Marly, which I wrote on Wednesday. The reason of its delay was, that, there being no Post-office at Marly, all the letters are carried to that at Versailles, and I suppose mine was sent too late on Wednesday for the packet of that day. I am very sorry to have so ill succeeded in my negociation; but I dare assure your Lordship, that, if you have not such an order as you wished for, it is merely because it is contrary to the forms and usage of this country, the Ministers being otherwise in appearance very much disposed to give your Lordship all satisfaction. As to the Cardinal, I fancy he has not been yet spoken to concerning your desire; and the Garde des Sceaux having made an answer from himself only, his Eminence perhaps would be less difficult about the matter; though I must repeat, that such premature orders are not usual here. If your Lordship pleases, when I return to Marly, I will apply to the Cardinal himself; but I hope to receive your orders before that

time,

time, and to assure you myself of the constant respect with which I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble,
and most obedient servant,

FRA. BULKELEY.

LXIV. A Monsieur Monsieur LLOYD.

DEAR LLOYD,

I SPOKE to both Cardinal and Garde des Sceaux. I told them that it is essential, perhaps, for several considerable persons in England, that the Bishop's papers should not fall into any other hands than Mr. Morice's. They said it was very reasonable. The Garde des Sceaux asked me, if I believed that he had an entire confidence in Mr. Morice? I answered, yes; and that the Bishop had told me, in his son-in-law's presence, that all he desired was, that his effects might be secured till he could come from England to take possession of them; upon which he, the Garde des Sceaux, assured me, and he told the Duke of Berwick so too, that the Scellé should not be removed till Mr. Morice's arrival. The Garde des Sceaux enquired, if I was sure Mr. Morice would come? To which I replied, yes. So that pray send for him in all haste.

I wish I knew where to find you this evening between eight and nine. If you will be at the Duke of Berwick's, I will go there. Adieu.

LXV. From Mr. KYNASTON to Mr. MORICE.

DEAR SIR,

Andresy, March 8, 1731-2.

I DID not till late last night hear the melancholy news of the death of my Lord Bishop, which I suppose you will hear before this comes to your hands; but, at the same time I heard this news, I was told that Mons. Herault has sealed up every thing, for to secure the *droit d'aubaine*, which, I think, by the treaty of peace, the English are free from. Therefore, perhaps, it may be proper for you, before you come over, to apply to the Court, for to get a letter to the Cardinal, to make the affair of the *droit d'aubaine* the easier: otherwise, I fear, it may draw you into a dispute at law.

I have nothing farther to add; but, if I can be any way serviceable to you, no one will more readily obey your commands, or is more concerned for the loss of his Lordship; and, hoping this may come to your hands before you leave England, have sent my servant express, for to put it in the post of this day.

This is too melancholy a subject to say any more upon, but that I am, most sincerely,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful,

and obedient humble servant,

CORBET KYNASTON.

LXVI. From the Rev. THOMAS MOORE* to WILLIAM MORICE, Esq. at Paris.

DEAR SIR,

April 6, 1732.

I RECEIVED yours in answer to mine, and thank you heartily for it; and particularly for your intentions of consulting me upon the Bishop's writings, for I have the greatest eagerness imaginable to see them; and assure yourself, that the advancing his reputation, being all the service I can now do him, is what I have most at heart. I hope, by this time, all your difficulties are surmounted, and that you are in full possession of the whole effects, and upon your return home; for Mrs. Morice (whom I waited upon last Monday at Holland-house) begins to think it very long till you come, as I do not question but you do yourself. I have promised Dr. Savage, who is now at Cambridge, to let him know when the funeral will be, because he designs to come to town to shew his last respect to his Patron. I presume a few attendants of the Bishop's particular friends will not be denied; though it is said that the Dean and Chapter will not suffer him to be buried in a public manner at the Abbey †. If there be any papers among the writings that you would not have seen, it would be proper to let them be brought over in some unsuspected way, if possible; because, I apprehend, a seizure will be made of them here. If you have any leisure time, I should be glad to hear when you propose

* The Bishop's Chaplain, and the Editor of the third and fourth volume of his Sermons.

† See vol. III. p. 152.

setting

setting out from France, but especially as soon as you arrive in England. My service to the Captain; and I am, as always,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

THO. MOORE.

LXVII. From Mr. DELAFAYE* to Earl WALDEGRAVE.

Whitehall, March 3, 1731-2.

YOUR Excellency's private letters to my Lord Duke of Newcastle and to me bring Mr. Pelham back to you sooner than perhaps you expected. I believe you will not be sorry to have his assistance in an affair of this nature; which will be difficult to compass, but well worth the while, if it can be brought about. I remember that, as cautious as he was, and careful to put every thing out of the way when he was seized here, I found, among his loose papers, a letter he had written to the Pretender, but having, I suppose, missed the opportunity of sending it, he had laid it by, and forgot to destroy it. As he might not be under the same apprehensions now that he was then, and his death was sudden, probably there are some curiosities to be met with in his scrutore, if one knew how to come at them. I return you one, which shews his spirit and ill-nature held out till the last. What a pity it is that so good parts should have been in such bad hands. As to your Excellency's having intermeddled in getting the Scellé put to his effects, and his claiming your protection as an Englishman, the Attorney General agreed with me in opinion, that he had no right to the privilege of a sub-

* Under Secretary of State; see vol. III. p. 155.

ject: however, if your Excellency's own seal would have done, and that you could by that means have had the fingering of his papers, one would have done him that favour. The circumstance of his willingness that your Excellency should have had this precious deposit, rather than they should have fallen into some other hands, might be made use of as an argument to my friend Morice, if he were talked with; but at the same time it is one with me, that he had been thinking of securing his papers, and had destroyed the most considerable of them,

LXVIII.*

MY LORD,

April 17, 1732.

MY Aunt's journey the bearer will acquaint you with. If I am able, I hope to have the honour of meeting of her; and I hope I commit no fault in offering my service to your Lordship, to know if you had any commands by letter or message.

The Chaplain—I wish it was thought of. I hear of one that I knew, that I fear would not be very proper. I honour him, but I doubt he is not fit for her. I believe, the sooner he came here the better. I wish him a man of parts, learning, and sobriety, patient, I mean very modest. Give me leave to recommend this to your consideration. At this time, too, the place he goes to will make it the more necessary. I doubt my little affairs will not allow me to make such a journey. If it should not, the others passing this way may be of service to her Ladyship and him. I cannot tell you the

* No name either at the beginning or the end. It is probably by Mr. Morice's second lady; but, Q. to whom?

dread

dread I have of the great journey. A thousand things I could say ; but all at present is, that I am, with the greatest respect and attachment imaginable,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
and most humble servant.

LXIX. The Examination of WILLIAM MORICE, of Kensington, in the County of Middlesex, Esquire, May 1, 1732.

HE says he knows of no letters that were written to the late Bishop of Rochester from hence during the time of his being in France ; that all the late Bishop's papers had been secured in France before this Examinee's arrival there ; that the late Bishop, before his death, applied to the French Court, by Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Buckley, and one Mr. Sempill, who calls himself Lord Sempill, that his effects might be secured, in case of his death, for this Examinee ; but, a difficulty being made of it, the late Bishop wrote a letter to Mr. Buckley, desiring he would meddle in it no further ; that, when the late Bishop died, as the Examinee was told by the said Sempill, the papers were all carried to the Scots College, where they were sealed up with a public seal of office ; that, when this Examinee desired to have them, he was told that it was not known that they belonged to him ; that, upon much solicitation, he was allowed to have his family papers, and the seal was taken off in his presence, and a Commissary looked over them, and gave this Examinee what he thought proper ; that Mr. Lloyd was present, and any letters of his that were met with were returned to him : the like was done

by

by Mr. Buckley *, and any others that were present; that he, the Examinee, has not, nor ever had, any other papers but those that were found with the baggage that came with his body, or were taken upon him the Examinee, and that he has not yet looked into them. Being told that, as he was present when the Commissary opened the papers, he must know what they were, he answers, there were many letters from Lord Marishal, from the Duke of Ormond, and other people that he knows nothing of. That there was a parcel of papers relating to the late Bishop's trial, but the Commissary would not let this Examinee have them. That the papers were in the custody of Father Innes at the Scots college; and the persons present when they were opened were the Commissary, Innes, and Mr. Dickenson, who were named in the Garde des Sceaux's order, Mr. Lloyd, at the Examinee's desire, Mr. Sempill, alias Lord Sempill, who first had secured the papers and carried them to the Scots college, and others who accidentally came in, and the Examinee. That what papers were in French and in Latin were looked into by the Commissary, so far as to see of what nature they were; those in English Mr. Dickenson looked into, and told the Commissary what they were; where any were directed to this Examinee, or endorsed with his name, or appeared to belong to him, they were delivered to him; the rest were all kept from him. Being asked whether, among the late Bishop's papers, there were any letters from the Pretender, the Examinee answers, that he does not know that there were; that there were letters

* Q. Buikley? See pp. 181, 182.

endorsed

190 ATTERBURY'S EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE,
endorsed from Rome; but all those letters from Rome
or Spain were all kept and never put into his power;
that there were none that he knows of from England,
except from this Examinee and his wife.

WM. MORICE.

Capt. 1^o die Maii, 1732, coram nobis,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE, HARRINGTON.

LXX. From Mr. DELAFAYE to Earl WALDEGRAVE.

Whitehall, May 11, 1732.

THE seizing of Mr. Morice, and searching of ves-
sels from France for the late Bishop of Rochester's
corpse *, has made some noise here; which may perhaps
have reached your parts; but considering what part the
deceased had acted, and how nearly related to, and how
much intrusted by him the other was, it is not surprising
that the Government should have a curiosity to peep into
the papers that came over by that opportunity, out of
which some useful informations might be gathered;
and that is all the use that one would make of them.

My Lord Duke of Newcastle hopes your Excellency
will again excuse his not writing; and I beg you will
always be persuaded of the zeal and respect with which
I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Excellency's
most humble, and most obedient servant.

We had last Tuesday a smart attack in the House of
Commons about Dunkirk, much to the same effect as
that of which I lately gave your Excellency an account
in the House of Lords. The debate was more than or-
dinary warm and bitter.

* See vol. III. p. 151.

MISCELLANY

MISCELLANY EXTRACTS, REFLECTIONS, &c.

Copied from a MS. found among Sir ROBERT WALPOLE'S
Papers in Bishop ATTERBURY'S hand-writing.

1. *How many Days and Nights the Action of MILTON'S Poem lasts.*

THE scene opens 18 days after the defeat of the
Rebellious Angels: for they were nine days
falling, and had lain nine days astonished on the
Burning Lake.—L. VI. v. 871. L. I. v. 50.

What time was spent in the consultation of Devils,
and Satan's Voyage to the Gates of Hell, and through
Chaos, &c. till he alighted on the top of Mount Ni-
phates, Milton nowhere intimates; and it is in vain to
measure that space: but he is said to have stopped on
Mount Niphates at *Noon*.—IV. 30.

He sees Adam and Eve towards *Evening*.—IV. 331.
355. 540. and 590.

That night he tempts Eve with a dream, and leaves
Paradise just before *Day-light*.—IV. 1014. 1015.

In the *Morning* Adam and Eve wake [V. 1.] and
pay their adorations, V. 139, and then go to work, and
return to their bower at Noon, where Raphael then
visits them, V. 300, 311, 369, 376. Raphael stays
with

192 ATTERBURY'S MISCELLANEOUS EXTRACTS, &c.
with them till *Evening*, V. 376, and then departs,
VIII. 653.

Satan returns at Midnight [XI. 53.] into Paradise on
the eighth night after he parted from thence, IX. 63, 67,
including the night of his departure, *i. e.* the seventh
night inclusive, after Raphael left Paradise.

During the night he ranges Paradise [IX. 181], and
enters the Serpent, IX. 187.

In the *Morning* [IX. 192], Adam and Eve go out se-
parately to their work. Eve is tempted, and about
Noon eats the forbidden fruit, IX. 739.

That evening the Son comes down to Paradise to
judge them, X. 53, 92, 95.

Adam and Eve spend that night in mutual expostu-
lations, and then in devotions. Next morning, XI. 135,
173, as they are going to their labour, Raphael meets
and stops them; and, after revealing to them what was
to happen to them and their seed, drives them that
Evening out of Paradise.

So that ten days and ten nights is the utmost extent
of time during which the Action of the Poem continues;
except the time spent in Hell, and in Satan's Voyage
from thence to Paradise, of which there is no account.

2. *Reflexions sur la Grammaire, &c. par feu Mons. de
FENELON.*

P. 2. *Nedum sermonum stet honos.*] He begins the
citation with *Nedum*, which refers to the preceding

verses in Horace, and has no sense when placed at the beginning of this passage.

P. 12. Quand on abandonne, à la mode des femmes, l'introduction des termes; il en vient plusieurs qui n'ont ni la clarté, ni la douceur, qu'il faudroit desirer.

Surely this part of his reflection, not just: for the *women* seldom introduce any term that is not *clear*; never any that is not *soft* and *sweet*.

P. 15. Dixeris egregiè notum si callida verbum

Reddiderit junctura novum.]—He takes this passage to relate to *compound words*; whereas it means plainly a new turn given to an old word by the manner of placing and employing it. But perhaps Dacier, to whom he is writing, may have so explained the words; and the Archbishop might make him a compliment in so understanding them.

Ibid. He makes the rule, in *verbis tenuis cautusque serendis*, relate to phrases; whereas it regards words, or single terms only.

P. 45. Some verses of Horace about the beauty and force of method very much misapplied; and so again, p. 124.

P. 71. Four verses of Horace cited, where only the last, and the end of the third, are at all to his purpose.

P. 105. Projicit ampullas & sesquipedalia verba, applied very unskilfully, and contrary to Horace's plain meaning.

The same I say of the application of *Natusque, Chremes*, &c. p. 111.

P. 122. Semper ad eventum festinat, &c. a very unhappy application to History; since it points out that

peculiar manner and method of writing which distinguishes a Poem from an History.

What follows,

————— Et quæ

Desperat tractata nitescere posse, relinquat ;
a good rule for Poetry, which is mere fiction, and designed only to instruct by pleasing: but a very ill one for History, where truth only is aimed at, and must not be therefore laid aside, because it cannot be rendered entertaining. This reflection tends a little towards the romantic taste, and is no ways becoming the gravity of Monsieur de Cambray's character.

P. 142. Si Horace n'avoit pas espéré de suivre de près Pindare, que n'aurons-nous pas perdu ?]

Horace never pretended to follow Pindar ; but declares him to be utterly inimitable. His numbers he no where traces ; nor are there above two or three places in his Odes, wherein he can be supposed to have imitated his way of thinking. Miceus and Sappho were his chief models.

P. 147. Hæc quæ Varo nondum perfecta canebat, signifies only that the whole copy to which these verses belong was not (not that these verses which he cites were not) finished. The application, therefore, not exact.

P. 151. Quibus—Mos unde deductus, &c. There is another solution more natural than that of supposing him to imitate Pindar ; and that is, his deriding some contemporary writer, who had made such a digression in the midst of his poetical fury.

P. 152. He names five antient Authors, dont on se passe volontiers, of which three; Aristophanes, Plautus, and Ovid, are certainly admirable in their kind.

✂ P. 160. Barbarus has segetes.] Another odd application of words to a purpose they no way suit, and which shews the Archbishop not to have dealt much in this manner of making use of the Classics!

P. 166. After praising Titian's manner of painting landscapes, he adds, Tout de même Virgile ne peint point des Sénateurs fastueux & occupés d'intrigues criminelles: mais il représente un laboureur innocent, & heureux dans la vie rustique—

Deinde satis fluvium inducit, &c.

How should Virgil do otherwise in a Georgic?

3. *Greater Pleasure results from Music than PAINTING.*

All *natural* pleasures more exquisite than those that are merely *artificial*.

Art strives only to follow nature, and pleases merely on the account of *imitation*. But what is naturally agreeable pleases originally and directly, without study or attention, without reflection.

Music, therefore, pleases every body that has an ear; Painting those chiefly that are acquainted with it, and have a particular relish for it. The bulk of mankind pass by fine pictures without attention: not so, when they hear a fine concert of music.

There are few painters; but almost all mankind are fingers.

Those pleasures that gently excite and soothe the *passions* are certainly most delightful.

'Tis the martial sound of the trumpet that rouses the soldier, which all the exploits of their ancestors painted in their ensigns would not do—

By the loud trumpet, which our courage aids,
We learn that sound, as well as sense, persuades.

We read here, that the music of Timotheus transported Alexander, and inspired into him such a variety of passions as the Musician pleased: but we find not that Apelles's art had any such effect.

The pleasure of *admiration*, with the sight of fine pictures, is not equal to that which sensibly affects and moves the sense, as the harmony of sounds does.

The observation of Horace—*Segnius irritant, &c.* is true indeed with relation to the *same facts*; that they move more when *seen* than when *told*; but is not applicable to the manner in which different objects operate on different senses—nor at all useful therefore in deciding the dispute about the different pleasures arising from Music and Painting.

4. *Dialogue sur la Musique des Anciens* *, 1725.

I say of it, as the Editor does in the Preface, where he speaks of erudition: Il y a sans doute un peu de celle-ci—a *little*, and *but a little*, of that knowledge which was requisite to write in a masterly way on that subject.

* See the Bishop's Letter to M. Thiriot, in vol. II. p. 332.
And

And therefore the Editor, just afterwards, says well :

Quant à la question prise en elle-même, on voit bien qu'il n'a pas eu intention de la résoudre. How should a man determine a question without sufficient knowledge of the grounds of it ?

What is said of Leontium * in the book, I say of the writer himself : " Son goût en le conduisant de fleur en fleur, comme les abeilles, lui fait parcourir indifféremment tous les pays & tous les siècles. Mais ces sortes d'imaginations, si légères & si brillantes, dédaignent pour l'ordinaire le travail de l'attention. Un esprit né pour les agrémens, & qui n'a jamais sacrifié qu'aux Graces, n'a garde de s'affujettir à la patience qui seroit nécessaire pour comparer les beautés d'un tems avec celles d'un autre, pour étudier les rapports & les oppositions qui sont entre elles, pour les tourner de tous les sens dont on peut les envisager ; enfin pour y rapporter la triste & pénible exactitude que demande un parallèle ;" p. 9.

P. 58. He quotes Varro de la Rep. Rom. l. i. c. i. what book is that † ?

5. *An imperfect Letter on the same Subject.*

It is true, Sir, I declared my opinion, that the pleasure of hearing fine Music was greater than that of seeing fine Pictures : but I did not expect you would call upon me to prove it. Since you do, I shall not decline the task ; but begin by explaining and limiting the proposition I am to make good ; so that we may know the true point of view in which it is to be considered.

* See the Bishop's Letter to M. Thiriot, in vol. II. p. 332.

† lb. p. 333, where the above quotation is repeated.

My intention was not to affirm any thing concerning the degree of delight which either Music or Painting might afford to particular persons, according as their peculiar inclination and genius, or their habitual skill and practice, may have led them more or less to relish either the one or the other. This is not a proper subject of reflection: every man best knows what he feels in such a case, and is not to be reasoned out of the informations of his senses—*de his gustibus non est disputandum*. All I aim at is, to shew that the pleasures of Music, compared with those of Painting, are certainly in their own nature more exquisite and affecting; and will be found so by any man who comes equally prepared and disposed to receive them.

I said, that the pleasure arising from Music was more sensible than those which Painting affords: you expect I should prove it; an hard task for one who has not skill enough in either, to compare them with exactness, and form a sure judgement upon that comparison. However, encouraged by the examples of those who have set themselves up as judges between the antient and modern Writers, without knowing much either of the great beauties, or faults, of the one or the other, I venture upon the task; and choose rather to execute it unskillfully than universally to decline it. * * * * *

* * * * * (*Imperfect.*)

6. *Réflexions sur l'Histoire de France, des Etats Généraux, & des Parlemens, par Monsf. de BOULAINVILLER.*

L'Histoire ne refuse pas son approbation à Charlemagne, à Charles V. encore moins à Louis XII.

These are the three Princes he seems most to esteem, and Louis XII. more than the other two.

The three first books he recommends to one that begins to read the French History are, L'Abrégé de *Mézeray*, la *Chronologie de Marcel* en 4 petites tomes, & les *Recherches de Pasquier*. Of the last he says, C'est un Livre excellent pour tout le monde, mais particulièrement pour un homme qui se destine à la Magistrature : c'est là qu'il peut apprendre l'ancienne Jurisprudence, & spécialement ce qui regarde les Parlemens. Ce Livre est d'ailleurs si diversifié qu'on ne doit craindre de s'ennuyer à le lire.

One passage relating to *two Princes* deserves to be copied in terms: " A peine m'intereffai-je deux Princes, " & je n'y penserois point du tout, si le malheur de la " condition humaine n'avoit fait dépendre la félicité des " peuples, de leurs volontés, ou plutôt de leurs caprices. " En effet quel rapport y a-t-il entre notre fortune & la " leur ? quelle instruction puis-je tirer de leur conduite " pour réguler la mienne ? Je ne vois dans leur caractère que de la hauteur, de la malignité, & de la " haine pour les autres hommes ; en sorte que, si l'on excepte quelques uns plus heureusement nés que d'autres, " ou qui ont instruits par l'adversité dans la première age ; " on sauroit examiner leur vie, sans faire, d'une ou " d'autre manière, honte à leurs successeurs. Au con-

“traire, je m’informe avec plaisir & avec utilité de ce qui
 “regarde les hommes d’un étage inférieur ; la parité
 “de condition & de fortune m’intéresse nécessairement
 “à ce qui leur est arrivé.”

This passage, and what precedes, are in a letter to a Lady, dated May 22, 1707, containing some directions as to the method of reading History. The letters themselves about the subject of the book follow.

Les Assemblées des Etats qui sont tenues jusqu’à celle des années 1614 & 1615, que l’on compte pour la dernière, quoiqu’il y ait eu depuis quelques Assemblées de Notables.—Lett. I.

Malgré toutes les beautés de son ouvrage (he speaks of *Tacitus*), il me paroît un Historien peu naturel, qui cherche du mystère à tout, & qui outre absolument les caracteres [&] dispositions, que je regarde comme une conséquence de la contrainte où il a vécu ; laquelle étant accoutumée à la dissimulation & à la haine, ses habitudes n’ont pas manqué de se peindre dans sa composition.—Ibid.

Entre les Monarques qui ont occupé le Trône François depuis 300 ans, à la réserve d’Henry III. & de François I. il ne s’en trouve aucun qui ait eu le moindre goût pour les lettres. Entre tous les autres Rois de France, il n’y a presque que Charlemagne à excepter. Henry IV. & sa posterité sont particulièrement distingués par une espèce d’éloignement & d’opposition pour l’étude.—Ibid.

Cette matiere me fait souvenir de foibles qu’ont eu tous nos historiens dans le récit qu’ils ont fait de la maniere

niere d'ont *Hugues Capet* s'est élevé à la Trône. Il sembleroit, de voir à quelle façon ils le justifient, qu'ils ont estimé qu'il reste encore aujourd'hui quelqu'un de la posterité de Duc Charles, frere du Roi Lothaire, auquel nos Rois devroient céder leur Couronne en bonne justice. Une possession de 700 ans leur paroît un titre si médiocre, qu'ils n'osent quasi le faire valoir ; & cette foiblesse est d'autant plus dangereuse qu'elle a produit le faux & ridicule système qui disoit que Hugues Capet abandonna à ses nouveaux sujets la propriété des biens, des terres, des fiefs, sauf le ressort, & la souveraineté, pour le recompenser de ce qu'ils lui avoient déferé la Royauté : système d'où l'on a tiré de nos jours la plus abominable conséquence ; savoir, que tous les biens appartiennent *foncierement* au Roi, & si véritablement qu'il est le maître de n'en laisser aux sujets que telle part qu'il lui plait. Et c'est ainsi que, pour diffimuler une injustice tellement ancienne qu'elle est oubliée, qu'on commet une actuelle qui coute chere à tous les vivans.—Ibid.

On n'a point vû le Card. *Richelieu* s'effrayer de tant de monuments de l'ancienne Liberté que *Duchefne* a rendus publics pendant son ministere ; ni le Pere *L'Abbé*, tout Jesuite qu'il étoit, s'abstenir par la crainte d'offenser la Maison régnante, de publier la *Chronique Angerine*, si injurieuse à Hugues Capet & à ses enfans. Un autre auteur a montré dans ces derniers tems l'Usurpation que nos Rois ont faite de la Monnoie, & les fraudes excessives qu'ils ont pratiquées dans sa Fabrique ; le tout, sans offenser le Gouvernement ; preuve évidente que

que l'on peut tout dire, pourvu qu'on parle à propos & sagement.—Ibid.

What he says of Mezeray's and Pere Daniel's Histories is transcribed in a separate paper.

7. Proceedings in the British Parliament.

Jan. 23.) A Copy of Pointz's Memorial at Stockholm, June 4, 1726, relating to the Accession of the Crown of Sweden to the Treaty of Hanover: moved for, but overruled.

A Motion, the same day, for an Address to K. G. to give directions, that the Secret Offensive Alliance between the Emperor and the King of Spain may be laid before this House.

It passed in the Negative.

Feb. 6.) A Motion for communicating to the House. Copies of the Declaration, Letter, or Engagement, which, in the Marquis de Posobueno's Letter to the Duke of Newcastle, 21st December last, is asserted to be a positive promise upon which the King of Spain founds his peremptory demand for the restitution of Gibraltar, which had been so solemnly yielded to the Crown of Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht, and was afterwards confirmed and granted to Great Britain by the King of Spain's accession to the Quadruple Alliance.

Rejected by a Previous Question.

Feb.

Feb. 7.) *Resolution* for Address, that Copies of such Memorials and Representations as have been made to the Court of Vienna concerning the Charter granted to the Ostend Company, with the Answers thereto, may be laid before this House.

Motion for Copies of all such Memorials and Representations to his Majesty, from the Crowns of Sweden or Denmark, as did induce him to send the squadron of ships the last year into the Baltic, at so great an expence to this kingdom.

It passed in the Negative.

8. *Mémoires de Le Marquis DELAFARE.*

P. 27. Ce Cardinal [Mazarin] jouit, pendant quelques années, du fruit de ses travaux ; c'est à dire, d'une autorité qui ne recevoit aucune contradiction : car, quoique le Roi parvint à un âge, où il pouvoit prendre connoissance de ces affaires, les obligations qu'il lui avoit, l'habitude, la soumission à ses volontés qu'il avoit contractée dès son enfance, & sa timidité naturelle, l'empêcherent de se mêler des affaires pendant la vie du Cardinal ; & , quoiqu'on ait dit qu'il commençoit à s'en lasser, je doute qu'il eût de long-tems secoué ce joug.

P. 34. Le Roi eut peur sur toutes choses, parce qu'il avoit été gouverné, qu'on ne crût qu'il l'étoit encore ; & par la ses Ministres, en lui disant toujours qu'il faisoit tout, & qu'il étoit le Maître, s'éloignerent de lui, & ceux qui l'avoient bien servi, & ceux qui étoient capables

pables de le bien servir. Ils le réduisèrent, comme il ne parloit qu'à eux, à faire tout ce qu'ils vouloient, &c.

P. 40. Quoique depuis trente ans il se soit fait de grandes choses en ce Royaume, il ne s'y est point fait de grands hommes; non que les talens naturels aient manqué dans tout le monde, mais parce que la Cour ne les a ni reconnus ni employés; qu'elle ne s'est jamais piquée de choisir ceux que le Public honoroit de son choix, & qu'elle s'est opiniâtrée dans les siens, lors qu'ils étoient mauvais.

P. 41. Je dirai ce que m'est arrivé d'autant plus volontiers, que, n'étant rien de fort considérable, on ne me sauroit d'accuser de la vanité. *There may be a great deal of vanity shewn in telling little things of oneself. He that does so seems to think that the least things, that belong to him, are considerable: else, why should he trouble the world with an account of them?*

Ibid. Ma figure, qui n'étoit pas déplaisante, quoique je ne fusse pas du premier ordre des gens bien-faits.

P. 56. Le bon mot de Card. Maz. a été accompli, qui, pressé par plusieurs gens qui lui demandoient des Brevets de Ducs, dit un jour: "Hé bien, j'en ferai tant, qu'il sera ridicule de l'être, & ridicule de ne le pas être."

P. 63. Après avoir parlé d'Amour, il est tems de parler de Guerres. *A natural account of his own character, and that of his Memoirs. Love and War are his only subjects.*

P. 88. Il est certain qu'en perdant cette Princesse [Mad. Henriette D'Anglet,] la Cour perdit la seule personne de son rang qui étoit capable d'aimer & de distinguer

distinguer le mérite. Et ce n'a été de depuis sa mort, que jeu, confusion, & impolitesse.

P. 145. Le Chevalier de Rohan étoit l'homme de son tems le mieux fait, de la plus grand mine, & qui avoit les plus folles jambes. Cette particularité paroîtra peut-être petite & basse : mais il ne faut mépriser les dons de la nature pour petits qu'ils soient, quand on les a dans leur perfection. He knows his fault in observing this trifling circumstance, and yet committed it; a sign that these little things made a great impression on him; and that his good sense was not able to correct his inclination.

P. 146. On jouoit fort gros jeu chez le Cardinal. Le Chevalier de Rohan, après avoir beaucoup perdu, se trouva devoir au Roi une grosse somme. On étoit convenu qu'on ne payeroit qu'en louis d'or; &, après en avoir compté au Roi sept ou huit cens, il lui compta deux cens pistoles d'Espagne, ou environ. Le Roi ne voulut pas les recevoir, & dit qu'il falloit des louis. Alors le Chevalier de Rohan prit brusquement les deux cens pistoles d'Espagne, & les jeta par la fenêtre, disant, *Puisque vôtre Majesté ne les veut pas, elles ne sont bonnes à rien.* Le Roi, piqué, se plaignit au Cardinal de cette insolence; & le Cardinal, comme son Gouverneur, lui dit, *Sire, le Chevalier de Rohan a joué en Roi, & vous en Chevalier de Rohan.*

P. 156. Quoique le Maréchal de Belleforde soit depuis revenu a la Cour, il n'est pourtant revenu dans la faveur du Roi, à qui il est souvent arrivé de s'entêter de certains hommes, & de s'en desabuser de même

même sans beaucoup de sujet; *caractere d'esprit dans gèreux, dans un homme qui est le Maître*; v. p. 238. 250.

P. 152. Les Ennemis ayant occupé Sarbach, où étoit un tour à l'épreuve du canon, M. du Turenne, qui vouloit faire attaquer ce poste, passa au galop, à la tête des troupes, pour le reconnoître. Il eut à peine monté à une petite hauteur, qu'il reçut un coup de canon dans le milieu du corps. Ce coup, avant que de le fraper, avoit emporté le bras à St. Hilaire, Lieutenant Général de l'Artillerie, qui étoit à ses côtés; dont le fils fondant en larmes de voir son pere en cet état, le Pere lui dit, en lui montrant Mons. de Turenne étendu, "Ce n'est pas moi, mon fils, qu'il faut pleurer; c'est cet homme, dont la perte est irréparable." Parole remarquable, qui fait voir combien le véritable mérite a de pouvoir sur les hommes véritablement vertueux. Ainsi finit, au comble de sa gloire, non seulement le plus grand homme de guerre de ce siècle & de plusieurs autres, mais aussi le plus honnête homme, & le meilleur citoyen. Pour moi j'avoüerai, que, de tous les hommes que j'ai connus, c'est lui qui m'a paru approcher de plus de la perfection.

P. 163. Il [le Marechal de Créqui] eut le plaisir de voir, par cette action, que dans la plus grande disgrâce il étoit capable de trouver de la ressource dans son courage, & qu'il ne s'abattoit pas dans le mauvais succès; vertu sublime, qui se trouve en peu de Capitains, & peut seule faire leur Eloge!

P. 187. Madame de Maintenon, qu'on appelloit auparavant Madame Scarron, veuve d'une Poëte Burlesque,
femme

femme d'un esprit gracieux & insinuant, & qui avoit encore quelque reste de beauté,—petite-fille, ou arriere-petite-fille, du sieur d'Aubigné, qui avoit été en quelque considération dans la Cour de Henri IV. & qui avoit écrit l'histoire de ce Roi. La mere de ce d'Aubigné avoit eu quelque commerce avec Henri IV. & d'Aubigné pouvoit être bâtard de ce Prince. Quoiqu'il en soit, son fils, pere de la dame dont nous parlons, nâquit sans bien, & fut un homme d'assez mauvaises mœurs, qu'il passa une partie de sa vie dans les prisons. Là il devient amoureux de la fille du géolier ; &, s'étant évadé par un secours, ils s'épouserent, & s'en allerent en Canada, où naquit la dame dont il est question. Elle revint en France à l'age de 17 à 18 ans, avec de la beauté, de la vivacité, & de l'esprit, & fut obligée par sa pauvreté à être demoiselle de Madame de Neuillant, mere de la Duchesse de Noailles. Cette bonne-femme, avare outre mesure, la fit servir à tout, jusques là qu'on dit, que souvent, en l'absence de son cocher, elle lui faisoit panser ses chevaux. En cet état, ses amis ne penserent qu'à lui trouver un mari quel qu'il fût. Scarron, homme de ma maison de robe de Paris, de beaucoup d'esprit, comme il paroît par ses ouvrages, mais pauvre, & devenu cul-de-jatte, la trouva belle & spirituelle, & l'épousa. La bonne compagnie s'assembloit souvent chez lui avant qu'il fût marié. Sa femme ne l'écarta pas, & la compagnie devint encore meilleur dès qu'elle y fût. Cependant Madame Scarron se gouverna honnêtement : on dit pourtant, & cela passe pour certain, que le Marquis de Villarceaux, un des plus galans de son tems, fut amoureux d'elle, & bien traité. Il avoit fort

fort aimé auparavant Mademoiselle *l'Enclos*, très connue sous le nom de *Ninon*. Je n'ai point vu cette Ninon dans sa beauté : mais à l'âge de cinquante ans, & même jusques au-delà de soixante-dix, elle a eu des amans qui l'ont fort aimée, & les plus honnêtes gens de France pour amis. Jusqu'à quatre-vingt sept elle fut recherchée encore par la meilleure compagnie de son tems. Elle est morte avec toute sa raison, & même avec l'agrément de son esprit, qui étoit le meilleur & le plus aimable que j'aie connu en aucune femme. Comme elle savoit bien qu'il n'est point d'amours éternelles, elle pardonna à Madame de Scarron de lui avoir enlevé Vellarceaux, & fut de ses meilleures amies, jusques-là qu'elles n'ont eu qu'un même pendant des mois entiers. Après deux ans de mariage, Scarron mourût, & la Reine Mere continua à la veuve une pension de deux mille livres, qu'elle donnoit au mari.

She came afterwards into Mad. de Montespan's service, and was appointed to take care of the education of the children the King had by her, the Duke de Maine, Count Thoulouse, &c. There she recommended herself to the King, &c.

P. 198. Colbert, le plus véritablement Ministre d'état que nous ayons eu depuis les deux Cardinaux Richelieu & Mazarin, qui avoit porté les revenus & l'autorité du Roi plus loin qu'il ne falloit pour le bien des peuples & celui du Roi même, s'en étant apperçû, quoiqu'un peu tard, prit des mesures pour remettre toutes choses dans l'ordre : mais Louvois le traversa dans tous ses desseins. Il donna des mémoires contre lui sur les bâtimens, endroit sensible pour le Roi, dont Colbert reçût

reçût quelque rebuffade ; & l'on dit que le chagrin qu'il conçut de l'ingratitude de ce Prince fut en partie cause de sa mort. Elle arriva presqu'en même tems que celle de la Reine, & on a remarqué, qu'étant à l'extrémité, on lui présenta une lettre du Roi qu'il ne voulut pas lire.

P. 200. Il [le Roi] avoit bâti Clugni pour Madame de Montespan, Marli pour Madame de Maintenon.

On the occasion of Sir Ruth's being sent by Lewis XIV. into Ireland, as a man capable d'y rétablir les affaires, en quoi l'on peut admirer les entêtemens que ce Prince à pris fort légèrement, souvent pour les gens peu élevés par leur naissance, & d'un mérite fort commun. Sir Ruth (whom he speaks of with scorn) étoit un des moins mauvais qu'il a choisi de cette maniere. p. 238.

P. 250. Un des malheurs de ce regne a été le pouvoir que le Roi a donné à ses Ministres dans chaque partie du Gouvernement qui leur étoit commise, sans qu'aucun d'eux ait pensé au rapport que toutes les parties avoient entre elles, & celui qu'elles avoient au corps de l'Etat ; si bien que les plus sensés ont toujours souhaité un premier Ministre : mais la vanité du Roi, qui sortoit du tutelle du Cardinal Mazarin, n'a jamais pû le permettre, & il a toujours regardé cela comme le plus grand malheur qui pût arriver à un Prince. Il n'a pourtant pas moins été gouverné que les autres ; mais il a mieux aimé l'être par plusieurs que par un seul. Il a en d'abord d'habiles Ministres, qui l'ont mal conduit, & qui avoient pris quelque sorte d'Empire sur lui. A la fin, il a pris des gens de peu d'esprit, dans la pensée qu'il les conduiroit, & feroit mieux reconnoître

ses grands talents. Mais il a été encore gouverné par ceux-ci, sans que les talens du Prince aient pu prévaloir par dessus l'incapacité des Ministres. Il s'est même cru obligé de les soutenir en tout & contre tout, & s'est souvent privé pour l'amour d'eux du secours de ceux de ses meilleurs sujets, qui avoient le mieux mérité de lui.—La capacité de M. le Catinet, qui à la fin l'auroit fait faire Maréchal de France, ni la voix publique, n'ont pû empêcher que le Roi ne l'ait sacrifié à Chamillard.

EPIGRAM, by Bp. ATTERBURY;

On Mr. HARLEY's being stabbed by GUISCARD.
From the "Lusus Westmonasteriensis", 1750."

Sunt ipsa pericula tanti.

Ad honoratissimum virum ROBERTUM HARLEY,
armigerum,

Regiæ Majestati à Conciliis, &c. 1711.

DEVOTUM sensit cùm condi in pectore ferrum,

Immoto HARLÆUS faucius orē stetit :

Dum lætâ huic reduci gratatur voce Senatus,

Confuso subitus surgit in ore rubor.

O pudor ! O virtus ! partes quàm dignus utrasque
Sustinuit, vultu dispare, laude pari † !

* See before, vol. III. p. 302. An Ode on the same subject is printed in the Works of Mr. Prior.

† The first draft of this Epigram having been printed, as Atterbury's, in the Works of Dean Swift, with some small variations; it shall be here copied :

"Devotum ut cordi sensit sub pectore ferrum,

Immoto HARLÆUS faucius ore stetit ;

Dum tamen huic lætâ gratatur voce Senatus,

Confusus subitò pallor in ore sedit.

O pudor ! O virtus ! partes quam dignus utrasque
Sustinuit, vultu dispare, laude pari."

* * The following Letter, without either name or superscription, was found amongst the papers of Bishop Atterbury.

May the 30th, 1726.

I HAD a good deal of discourse this morning with Riva, but chiefly upon subjects of which you are already informed. He says, the disappointments you have met with abroad, and particularly the discovery of Ripperda's engagements, render you more inclinable to come to an accommodation than you were some time ago; and that you, in your private opinion, are quite against these measures. He tells me you grow daily more apprehensive that Prussia will leave you; and that the most you expect from Sweden is a neutrality, which he says is inconsistent with their other measures. He tells me you grow very diffident of France, and that you will have soon reason to be more so; that you had solicited France to advance a body of 40,000 men towards Luxenbourg; that Count Broglio had promised you it should be done; but that they excuse themselves from doing it at present.

He told me, as a great secret, that the Dutchess of Kendal had very lately wrote a long letter to the Empress, and that no Minister was privy to it but Hattorf.

He says, the Emperor would not be averse to treat with the King, provided it were upon terms consistent with his dignity; but tells me, at the same time, no overtures can be made with any success while St. Saphoren is at Vienna, and Fridberg at Ratisbonne; and that

those two poison and envenom every thing they write; and that Fridberg had been very abusive and scurrilous to the Vice-chancellor in several papers, which will never be forgiven.

Riva enquired of me if I had not heard you were disposed to peace; and desired me earnestly to acquaint him if there were any thing of that nature in agitation; he said, he was sure of it; I told him I knew nothing of the matter; ~~but~~ that I heartily wished for it, and should take those informations from him as a great favour, because they might be conducive to my private advantage; having such a mark set upon me as not to expect any thing in this ferment. Upon the whole, I believe they wish matters were adjusted, or in a way of treaty.

I had almost forgot to tell you that Riva says Palm* knew nothing of the Dutchess's letter to the Empress; but that he had heard of it by an accident which he was obliged to conceal.

* Embassador at London from the Emperor of Germany.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

N^o I. (see p. 66.)

Letter from a Gentleman at Rome to his Friend at Leyden.

SIR,

Rome, Dec 4, 1725.

To satisfy your curiosity, I have made the narrowest enquiry into the occasion of the Princess Sobieski's retiring into the Benedictine Nunnery of S. Cæcilia, in this city; which take as follows:

"There is one Col. Hay, who was Colonel in the British Guards in Queen Anne's time: he got into the Chevalier de St. George's favour when he was in Scotland, and hath since followed his fortunes. He is the person that you have read in the Foreign Gazettes by the title of Count d'Es, instead of Hays, the French seldom making use of an H before a name; and he went often to Vienna and other European Courts for the Chevalier's interest. He married a daughter of the Viscount Stormont in North Britain, a Lady of spirit, and not ugly. He learnt his politics under my Lord Mar; but, coming with his Lady to this city, he soon got that Lord and his Lady discarded. The Colonel's Lady was made first Dame d'Honneur to the Princess Sobieski; and himself was the Chevalier's Prime Minister, to such a degree of confidence, that no subject of the Three Kingdoms can be admitted to an audience without being introduced by him; nor can the most plausible scheme that Italian policy can furnish go forward without his approbation. The husband and wife govern that Court so absolutely, as to give some uneasiness to the Princess Sobieski, if not a jealousy. Mrs. Hay carried it so haughtily, that the Princess often complained of her, but the Chevalier always took the other's part. The Princess consulted some of the Cardinals how to get her removed, and Cardinal Imperiali advised the feeding of her ambition; so that Colonel Hay was created Earl of Inverness, on purpose to make her a Countess: and it was proposed to send her to Scotland, to

take care of the Chevalier's interest there, with a good allowance. Her ambition led her readily into the snare; she accepted of the commission, and went to Paris, where my Lord and Lady Mar did not fail to expose her. From thence she went to England, and was seized, on her landing at Dover, by a couple of Messengers, and carried to London before my Lord Townshend, Secretary of State, who committed her to Newgate. She had written a letter from Calais to a certain relation, to send a coach and fix for her to Dover; but he, being entirely reconciled to the Government of England, and knowing her to be an intriguing woman, delivered the letter up to the Ministry. She lay a short time in Newgate, and pleaded her ignorance of the Act of Parliament, 'by which no person is to come from that Court without licence under the Privy Seal;' and at last obtained King George's mercy to return: so that her intended journey to Scotland was prevented.

"On her arrival at Rome, she was more insolent than ever; and the young Prince being five years old, and being taken out of the hands of women to be put under a governor, she prevailed with the Chevalier to send for her brother Mr. Murray, to be Governor to the young Prince, and had him created Earl of Dunbar. This gentleman was a Member of the last Parliament of Queen Anne, and one of the Commissioners for settling the Commerce betwixt England and France at the last treaty of Peace, and was Secretary of State to the Chevalier when in Scotland. This enraged the Princess, not so much for Mr. Murray's being a Protestant, as his being brother to Mrs. Hay. She expostulated with the Chevalier about it in vain, and at last took the resolution of retiring to a Convent till these three persons should be removed from Court. She wrote a letter to the Pope, and another to Cardinal Paolucci, Secretary of State, giving for her greatest reason Mr. Murray's being a Protestant. The Chevalier justifies his conduct in this affair, and seems to support his choice. She is as obstinate on the other side; and, although several Cardinals have been employed by the Pope to make up the difference, she is firm in her resolution of continuing in the Convent: yet, Mrs. Hay, to make way for a reconciliation, is retired from hence to Albano."

N^o II. (see vol. II. p. 344.)

A Letter from the Earl of Mar to the King, before his Majesty's Arrival in England. With some Remarks on my Lord's subsequent Conduct. By Sir RICHARD STEELE*.

It gives me a lively sense of the hardships of civil war, wherein all the sacred and most intimate obligations between man and man are to be torn asunder, when I cannot without pain represent to myself the behaviour of Lord Mar, with whom I had not ever the honour of any farther commerce than the pleasure of passing some agreeable hours at different times in his company. I say, when even such little incidents make it irksome to be in a state of war with those with whom we have lived in any degree of familiarity, how terrible must the image be of rending the ties of blood, the sanctions of affinity and intermarriage, and the bringing men, who perhaps in a few months before were to each other the dearest of all mankind, to meet on terms of giving death to each other at the same time that they had rather embrace! I am forced to reflect, that Lord Mar has already taken measures for bringing brother against brother, and son against father, to do, with satisfaction to myself, the duty which I think I owe my King and my Country, of exposing to public view his present behaviour. As this cannot be so fairly done by any method as by vouchers under his own hand, I shall produce such, before I can acknowledge I have effaced out of my mind all remains of goodwill or pity towards a man, whom to serve I would very lately have hazarded a great deal: but, as circumstances now stand between him and every man who is faithful to the King, his nearest friend is obliged to blot out all tender considerations for him, which is not more hard to do in any one that knew him than myself.

Repeating that this is a test of the smarter pain of wounds in domestic war, I must acquaint the Reader that the following is a true copy of my Lord's Letter to the King, when his Majesty was in Holland. I have the original in my custody, where it may be perused by any one who has a curiosity to see it.

Lord MAR to the KING.

"SIR,

"Having the happiness to be your Majesty's subject, and also the honour of being one of your servants, as one of your

* First published by Mr. Tonson in 1715; but never inserted in any collection of Sir Richard Steele's Works.

Secretaries of State, I beg leave by this to kiss your Majesty's hand, and congratulate your happy accession to the throne; which I would have done myself the honour of doing sooner, had I not hoped to have had the honour of doing it personally ere now.

"I am afraid I may have had the misfortune of being misrepresented to your Majesty; and my reason for thinking so is, because I was, I believe, the only one of the late Queen's servants, whom your Ministers here did not visit, which I mentioned to Mr. Harley and the Earl of Clarendon, when they went from hence to wait on your Majesty; and your Ministers carrying so to me was the occasion of my receiving such orders as deprived me of the honour and satisfaction of waiting on them, and being known to them.

"I suppose I had been misrepresented to them by some here upon account of party, or to ingratiate themselves by aspersing others, as our parties here too often occasion; but I hope your Majesty will be so just as not to give credit to such misrepresentations.

"The part I acted in the bringing about and making of the Union, when the succession to the Crown was settled for Scotland on your Majesty's family, where I had the honour to serve as Secretary of State for that kingdom, doth, I hope, put my sincerity and faithfulness to your Majesty out of dispute.

"My family hath had the honour for a great tract of years to be faithful servants to the Crown, and have had the care of the King's children (when kings of Scotland) intrusted to them. A predecessor of mine was honoured with the care of your Majesty's grand-mother when young; and she was pleased afterwards to express some concern for our family in letters which I still have under her own hand.

"I have had the honour to serve her late Majesty in one capacity or other ever since her accession to the Crown. I was happy in a good Mistress; and she was pleased to have some confidence in me, and regard for my services: and, since your Majesty's happy accession to the Crown, I hope you will find that I have not been wanting in my duty, in being instrumental in keeping things quiet and peaceable in the country to which I belong, and have some interest in.

"Your Majesty shall ever find me as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant as ever any of my family have been to the Crown, or as I have been to my late Mistress the Queen. And I beg your Majesty may be so good not to believe any misre-

misrepresentations of me, which nothing but party hatred and my zeal for the interest of the Crown doth occasion; and I hope I may presume to lay claim to your royal favour or protection.

“As your accession to the Crown hath been quiet and peaceable, may your Majesty’s reign be long and prosperous! and that your people may soon have the happiness and satisfaction of your presence amongst them, is the earnest and fervent wishes of him who is with the humblest duty and respect, Sir, your Majesty’s most faithful, most dutiful, and most obedient subject and servant,

Whitehall, Aug. 30,

MAR.

O. S. 1714.”

It is a very wide step from this dutiful letter to the following declaration to all the world, and order to his own agent, which we have seen in the Gazette of the 24th instant.

“Our rightful and natural King James the VIIIth, by the grace of God, who is now coming to relieve us from our oppressions, having been pleased to intrust us with the direction of his affairs, and the command of his forces in this his ancient kingdom of Scotland: And some of his faithful subjects and servants met at Aboyne, viz. the Lord Huntley, the Lord Tullibardine, the Earl Marischall, the Earl of Southesk, Glingary from the Clans, Glenderule from the Earl of Brodalbine, and gentlemen of Argyleshire, Mr. Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse, the Laird of Auldbair, Lieutenant General George Hamilton, Major General Gordon, and myself, having taken into our consideration his Majesty’s last and late orders to us, find that as this is now the time that he ordered us to appear openly in arms for him, so it seems to us absolutely necessary for his Majesty’s service, and the relieving of our native country from all its hardships, that all his faithful and loving subjects and lovers of their country, should with all possible speed put themselves into arms:

“These are therefore, in his Majesty’s name and authority, and by virtue of the power aforesaid, and by the King’s special order to me thereunto, to require and empower you forthwith to raise your fencible men, with their best arms; and you are immediately to march them to join me and some other of the King’s forces at the Inver of Bracmar, on Monday next, in order to proceed in our march to attend the King’s standard, with his other forces.

“The King intending that his forces shall be paid from the time of their setting out, he expects, as he positively orders,

orders, that they behave themselves civilly, and commit no plundering nor other disorders, upon the highest penalties and his displeasure; which is expected you will see observed.

"Now is the time for all good men to shew their zeal for his Majesty's service, whose cause is so deeply concerned, and the relief of our native country from oppression and a foreign yoke too heavy for us and our posterity to bear, and to endeavour the restoring not only our rightful and native King, but also our Country, to its ancient, free, and independeal Constitution under him, whose ancestors have reigned over us for so many generations.

"In so honourable, good, and just a cause, we cannot doubt of the assistance, direction, and blessing of Almighty God, who has so often rescued the Royal Family of Stuart, and our Country, from sinking under oppression.

"Your punctual observance of these orders is expected; for the doing of all which this shall be to you, and all you employ in the execution of them, a sufficient warrant.

Given at Bracmar, the 9th of September, 1715,

MAR.

To the Baillie and the rest of the Gentlemen
of the Lordship of Kildrummy."

"JOCKE,

Invercauld, Sept. 9, at night, 1715.

"Ye was in the right not to come with the 100 men ye sent up to-night, when I expected four times the number; it is a pretty thing, when all the Highlands of Scotland are now rising upon their King and Country's account, as I have accounts from them since they were with me, and the gentlemen of our neighbouring Lowlands expecting us down to join them, that my men should be only refractory; is not this the thing which we are now about, which they have been wishing these twenty-six years, and now, when it is come, and the King and the Country's cause at stake, will they for ever sit still and see all perish?

"I have used gentle means too long, and so I shall be forced to put other orders I have in execution. I have sent you inclosed an order for the Lordship of Kildrummy, which you are immediately to intimate to all my vassals; if they give ready obedience, it will make some amends; and, if not, ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my power to save them (were I willing) from being treated as enemies by those who are ready soon to join me; and they may depend on it that I will be the first to propose and order their being
so.

so. Particularly let my own tenants in Kildrummy know, that, if they come not forth with their best arms, I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them, and they may believe this not only a threat, but, by all that is sacred, I will put it in execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be example to others. You are to tell the gentlemen, that I will expect them in their best accoutrements on horseback, and no excuse to be accepted of. Go about this with all diligence, and come yourself and let me know your having done so; all this is not only as ye will be answerable to me, but to your King and Country.

Your assured friend and servant,

Sic subscribitur, MAR.

To John Forbes, of Incerrau,
Baillie of Kildrummie."

This noble Lord, with the rest of the Nobility, took the oaths to his Majesty King George, and did homage to him at his coronation; both which acts are but farther expressions, not more binding to a man of honour than what he had said before in his letter. It appears prodigiously unaccountable how it is possible that corruption should so far prevail, as that there does seem to arise among some men very little horror when this obligation of an oath is mentioned as broken in political occasions. If a man may upon oath declare, "that the person pretending to be Prince of Wales, and taking upon himself the title of James the Third," has not any right or title to the Crown of this realm, or any other the dominions thereunto belonging, and promise, according to the same oath, he will defend King George to the utmost of his power against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, and, under the shelter of the security and confidence reposed in such obligation, betray his Sovereign, there can be no such thing as any band of society. But men's own private interests and ambition put their conscience out of its office, and make it obsequious to their will, instead of being a check upon it. Men who have brought themselves to this standing inadvertency, have brought their consciences to be very profitable tools for the improvement of their fortunes; for it seems it can purchase for them, but it cannot alienate. If a man has a mind to an employment, he may take the oaths to possess himself of it; but that oath cannot detain him to the allegiance of his Prince when he is turned out of his office. My Lord has not given one example of injustice on the part of the Government, which he can pretend diminished his Sovereign's right to the duty

duty he subscribes in his letter of the 30th of August 1714; and therefore is, as well in common sense as law, a traitor for his declaration that another is his rightful and natural King on the 9th of September 1715.

His Lordship, in his Declaration, speaks of oppression for these twenty-six years past in general terms; there is no one instance wherein the King's is severed from the two preceding reigns; so that the reign of his good Mistress was an oppression, as well as this in which he rebels: but my Lord assigns the reasons which sanctified her power to him, "He had the honour to serve her in one capacity or other ever since her accession to the Crown."

But it has been long the language of all the Conspirators, who have manifested themselves of late, to cover themselves by extolling the Queen whom they betrayed, and at the same time imputing their ill conduct to her commands. My Lord, in the same temper and spirit with the rest, seems to impute his disrespect to the Hanover Ministers to the command of his Mistress. He tells the King, his Ministers carrying so to him occasioned that he had such orders as deprived him of the honour of being known to them.

My Lord supposes he has been misrepresented upon account of party. I hope that phrase will be utterly lost, or be spoken of another kind of men than hitherto it has been understood to describe. Is it then true, what the Whigs intimated, and the more moderate of them would not believe, that Whig and Tory were at the bottom Jacobite and Hanoverian, the promoters of slavery and the friends of liberty? Poor Jocke in the Highlands has, for the fourth part of a century, known more than any of us in town: the Lordship of Kildrummy was in the secret all along. "Is not this," says my Lord to them, "the thing we are now upon, which they have been wishing these twenty-six years?" It is a pretty thing, as my Lord very well expresses himself, that none of those who meant this all along should shew themselves now, but have perjured themselves in vain for these three last reigns, to "fit still, and see all perish at last."

A leader who has so little force at present, and is so little skilled in the art of persuasion, cannot in himself appear very formidable; but, when the most solemn ties are of no manner of force, who can avoid apprehending, even from his next friend or neighbour, all the miseries of war as occasion shall offer? We have, with some narrowness of spirit, in many cases, been very harsh upon poor Non-jurors, who have
denied

denied giving the Government the security it required of them, and pretended to nothing but bare protection, and leave to live. But we have no name for men who act publicly under the same Government with us, and are constantly meditating our ruin. These Con-jurors, with whom we repeat the same words at a bar or a table, and have gone on very lovingly after the clerk, and begin all together with one voice, *do swear*, it seems have minded what they said no more than if it were a matter of mere form, like taking up or laying down a mace, or bowing to an empty chair, which is done only as an overt-act, signifying that we are now going upon business, or the like. We have all seen and heard the Con-jurors speak very roundly out, (though now and then one repeats as if chawing thistles;) and indeed some have observed that they shewed little relish to, or over-acted, what they were doing; but I have always thought, till of late, that these reflections were unmanly and uncharitable. But it is not growing insolent, to take notice from events, there are every day new proofs, that what, in common charity and humanity, one would have thought the most cruel aspersions, is not only true, but with greater aggravations than their most violent enemies could have supposed the Con-jurors could have been guilty of. We have long had this kind of imputation laid at the door of the Church of Rome. They, it has been said, have had, for the service of the Faith on particular occasions, a suspension of the divine vengeance from the Pope, by plenary letters of indulgence in that behalf: but our Con-jurors, whom we have looked upon, as to the generality of them, a misled, thoughtless, but far from a designing set of men, are so far from wanting dispensations, that they are void of all sense of conscience, when they betray, and use perjury as a mere expedient to do it with better opportunities.

It is hard not to grow very grave on such an occasion; but, without pretending to set up for much of the Divine or the Casuist, who is there that does not know that the foundation of moral virtue is justice? This is what respects the Community. One might desire these gentlemen to recollect, that when a man offends against temperance and the like, he hurts only his individual self; but Society cannot subsist without the practice of justice. It is from this that nothing is more highly resented, or esteemed so odious, as breach of promise; and notorious neglect of this kind always makes a man, according to the respective cases in which he trespasses, either detestable or inconsiderable. To guard against this loose behaviour

haviour in matters of moment, and to secure human society against breach of faith, God is made a witness in the promises which man makes to man, on pain of his displeasure. We know he knows all we do, and in this act call upon him to observe what we do, and avenge himself in case of our falsehood. What was before purely morality, is by this act become Religion. How great then is the guilt of breaking through this solemn appeal! Will our taking it lightly make it less sacred? If not, what is the guilt of entering into this obligation with no other view but to violate it?

It is certain that he who does not think a Government just ought not to swear to it; but, when he has done so, there is no consideration can absolve him of that oath. As mutual faith is the support of society, an oath is the highest obligation to keep that faith inviolate. But this question is excellently well considered in a little Pamphlet, called, "Advice to the Tories who have taken the oaths," to which I recommend my Reader. What I thought serviceable in publishing this Paper is, to shew that my Lord Mar, whatever the guilt of professing to be in the King's interest, and being at the same time in measures against him, has that guilt upon him. The poor vassals who follow him as their leader, and a man of honour and quality, that should know better than themselves what is the duty of an honest man, are not acquainted that he has violated all that is good and sacred; and all who may be in inclination with him may, from the knowledge of his personal behaviour to the King, either change their minds, or at least not chuse to follow one who has been guilty of so solemn a falsehood. It is not possible to have any notion, consistent with honour, to reconcile this treachery. Perjury is not a fault incurred by surprize, by sudden instigation of desire, or passion; it is no way to be accounted for by the force which false gallantry or mode of life has upon our actions: perjury is a cool deliberate crime, committed in defiance of God, to do violence to man. How monstrous, therefore, must it appear, that a man, who, barely to mend his own affairs, or to gratify his ambition, can meditate the disturbance of all the rest of the world, and, at the expence of the lives and fortunes of the best of a whole people, break through all that is sacred, only to be himself a little more at ease, and enjoy that silly pleasure called Pomp!

In fine, the Earl of Mar, without any provocation, or pretended provocation, to exasperate him as a man, as a subject, as a gentleman, as a nobleman, laying aside his private faith
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given under his own hand, as well as the public obligation of the most sacred oaths, is now in rebellion against a Sovereign, who had, at his humble suit, consented to let him feel his annual bounty; to introduce an outlaw whom he had abjured, from no other motive but hopes of larger supplies to his avarice and ambition.

His ingratitude is not only that of a subject, who had the protection of his Prince in common with the rest, but that of a man who stood justly suspected by the King; and, after his Majesty's most generous neglect of all that might be objected against him, was farther engaged by the receipt of undeserved, and therefore the more binding, favour.

N^o III. (see vol. II. p. 17.)

A Declaration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops in and near London, testifying their Abhorrence of the present Rebellion; with an Exhortation to the Clergy and People under their Care, to be zealous in the Discharge of their Duties to His Majesty King George.

Nov. 3, 1715.

WHEREAS an Unnatural Rebellion has been raised against our lawful and rightful Sovereign King George in several parts of the kingdom, and is still threatened in more, we have thought it incumbent upon us, out of our duty to God, to our King, to our Country, and to our Holy Religion, in this public manner to declare our abhorrence of it, and to warn both the Clergy and People under our charge, of the great obligations they lie under, upon all these accounts, to shew a hearty and an open zeal for the Government in this conjuncture.

The Providence of God has indeed so wonderfully appeared hitherto, both in timely discovering the treason, and in disappointing our enemies of several advantages they expected, that we have great reason to trust in Him, that the event will be to the confusion of the wicked actors in this rebellion; but, however, in a matter of this high nature, wherein our duty and our dearest interests are so deeply concerned, no endeavours ought to be thought superfluous, nor zeal unnecessary.

We are the more concerned, that both the Clergy and People of our Communion should shew themselves hearty friends to the Government upon this occasion, to vindicate the

the honour of the Church of England, because the chief hopes of our enemies seem to arise from discontents artificially raised among us, and because some who have valued themselves, and have been too much valued by others, for a pretended zeal for the Church, have joined with Papists in these wicked attempts; which, as they must ruin the Church if they succeed, so they cannot well end without great reproach to it, if the rest of us do not clearly and heartily declare our detestation of such practices.

We are not surprized that Papists should rise up against a Government which they would never yet own, and endeavour to set a person upon the throne, who will establish their religion and ruin ours (though rebellion is but an ill return for the quiet they have enjoyed). But that professed Members of the Church of England should join with them in this, and, out of private discontents, attempt to set up a person whom they have so often and so lately abjured, is so vile and detestable a thing, as may justly make them odious both to God and man; but, at the same time to pretend a zeal for the Church, that is, to join with Papists, to set up a Popish Pretender, to support the Church of England, is such an imposition upon the common sense of mankind, that nothing even in Popery itself can be more absurd, and nothing but an infatuation from God, justly inflicted for our sins, can suffer to pass upon the Nation.

How much blood this may cost, or what ruin it may bring on our Country, God only knows; but we think proper to observe to you, that the more clearly and openly we declare ourselves for the Government, the less it will probably be: and that all those must have a share in the guilt of the innocent blood that shall be spilt, not only who actually join in the rebellion, but who do any way promote it; or even by their silence at this juncture shall give hopes to the Pretender and his friends, and just cause of jealousy and suspicion to the Government.

And is this a time to stand neuters, when all lies at stake? or, is Popery become so innocent of late, that it is indifferent whether a Popish or a Protestant Prince be on the throne? This we speak to those who have owned the King's title, and have sworn to maintain it, and are ready to do it again as occasion offers; who, we have reason to believe, are so many, that, if they are true to their oaths, the Government (humanly speaking) cannot be in any danger. And is it not fit for all such persons to consider seriously what those oaths are

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with which they have bound their souls? They have not only abjured the Pretender and his title, but have sworn to defend King George to the utmost of their power, against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity; and, to the utmost of their power, to maintain and defend the succession of the Crown against the said Pretender, and all other persons whatsoever.

These words do not only import, that we will not rebel against the King; but that we will be active for him according to our several stations, especially in times of danger, when rebellions are raised against him: they who are called to be soldiers, by fighting courageously for him; they who are Magistrates, by using their authority for his support; they who are Ministers, by their prayers, by their preaching, and by their admonishing those under their care of their duty to him; and all of us, by a cheerful ready declaration of our resolution to stand by him.

Such a conduct would discourage the Rebels and animate the Government, would put an end to our troubles, and support his Majesty in the just possession of the Crown, which was settled upon his Family with very mature consideration, and for just and weighty reasons, as being the next Family of the Royal Blood that were Protestants; from whom only we could expect protection in our religious and civil liberties, which are the birth-right of the people of England, and which no man has a right to invade. This settlement was established by the whole Legislature, and confirmed by many Acts of Parliament, made in two different reigns, and under the prevalence of each of the unhappy divisions of parties among us, several of them, in the last years of our late gracious Queen; and has been, from time to time, sworn to by almost all, of all orders and degrees of men among us.

As this settlement was made for the security and benefit of these kingdoms, so have we all the reason in the world to think ourselves happy in that Person, who, by all this authority, at present reigns over us. Even his enemies are forced to confess, that he is a very good and gracious Prince: he lives in the constant Communion of the Church of England, and has given us both his oath, and his repeated Royal word, to protect it; and he has not, by any thing he has done, given us the least reason to suspect but that it will flourish at least as much under his Government as under that of the best of his Royal predecessors.

VOL. V.

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But,

But, if the Pretender should prevail, what can the Church of England expect, but ruin and destruction? A Popish Prince upon the throne, bigoted to his religion, and heated with what will then be called ill usage, together with a long train of Papists in the succession, can bode nothing but fatal and irrecoverable ruin to it. May not we in this matter appeal to the experience of all countries, whether a succession of Popish Princes have not ruined the Protestant Religion wherever it has been planted? They are obliged by the laws of their Church to extirpate out of their dominions what they call Heresy, which their Canonists treat as a crime more heinous than either murder or rebellion. And these laws they never fail to put in execution when they have full power to do it, as we may be satisfied from what was done in Flanders, where, according to the account of writers of that Communion, above fifty thousand were put to the most miserable deaths.

To pass over the massacres and horrible persecutions in France, Savoy, and other foreign countries, let us call to mind how much this Church and Nation suffered in the bloody though short reign of Queen Mary, contrary to solemn promises; when not only many were put to death, as Hereticks Convict, but the torture was ordered for all whom they suspected, and who would not confess according to the barbarity of the Inquisition; which horrid court, or something very like it, would probably have been set up in this kingdom, had that Popish reign lasted but a little longer: and we have reason to fear it would effectually be established here, if ever God, for our sins, should suffer another Popish Prince to be settled on this throne.

The progress that was made toward the bringing this yoke of bondage upon us, and the miseries with which we were threatened under the late unhappy King James, are too fresh in our thoughts to be forgotten: and what befel that unfortunate Prince will certainly be remembered and resented by him who claims an indefeasible right to his kingdoms.

But, besides this, how must the Pretender look upon the Clergy of the Church of England, after all that they have been doing for near thirty years together? They were the Clergy, that in the time of King James did justly alarm the nation with the dangers of Popery; from whence followed all that was done at the Revolution. And the Clergy have every year since that, upon the fifth of November,

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given God thanks for what was then done, for making all opposition fall before him (the Prince of Orange) till he became our King. They have not only taken all the oaths established by law, but have used the daily prayers, and those of the several fasts and thanksgivings, for the prosperity of the Government. They have frequently, from time to time, in their Addresses from the Convocation, and from their respective dioceses, promised to stand by the Protestant succession. How must the Pretender look upon persons that have done all this? that have prayed against him, that have addressed against him, that have sworn against him, and abjured him for so many years together?

What a reproach will this matter then be to the Church of England? Such of us as stand true to our oaths will then be called Rebels and Traitors; and such as do not (if any be so wicked) will be called Atheists and Infidels for taking abominable oaths against their consciences. What scandal will this give to our people! and how will they be apt to turn Papists in great numbers, when we, that should direct and stand by them, shall fall under such reproaches! But we hope better, though we thus speak; and that God will not suffer these fore judgments to come upon us and our country.

We do therefore, in the name of God, call upon all those who are under our care, in the first place to humble themselves before God, for the great and crying sins of the nation; for that spirit of infidelity and libertinism; of unthankfulness for the mercies of the Gospel; of formality and hypocrisy; of strife and envy, of hatred and animosity, which are so rife among us, and which are generally the forerunners of the destruction of any people. Let us all cry mightily to God, to avert these judgements, which we have so justly deserved; that he would save his people, so often and so wonderfully preserved by him, and not give his heritage to reproach; that he would not suffer this Church to be overrun with superstition and idolatry, or leave us to the mercies of them, whose mercies are cruel. Let us particularly pray for the preservation of the Person and Government of our most Gracious Sovereign King George, that God would cover his enemies with shame; but that upon himself and his posterity the Crown may ever flourish. We do also charge both Clergy and people, as they will be answerable for the destruction that may otherwise come both upon the Church and Nation; that they endeavour to strengthen the hands of the Government in this dangerous

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conjunction:

conjuncture: the Clergy, by plainly admonishing their flocks of their duty both to their King and Country; and the people, by a cheerful declaration of their readiness to stand by the Government. And let all of us, forgetting all differences and animosities, make this the great contention, who shall act with the truest zeal against the common enemy. And God grant, that we may all, in this our day, see the things that belong to our peace before they are hid from our eyes.

THO. CANTUAR',
JOH. LONDON,
JONATHAN WINCHESTER,
JO. LICHFIELD AND COV.
RIC. PETERBOROUGH,
W. SARUM,
JO. BANGOR,

W. LINCOLN,
C. NORWICH,
W. ELY,
THO. CHICHESTER,
RICH. GLOCESTER,
JOHN ASAPH,
JO. OXON.

This Declaration was succeeded by the following circular Letter from the Bishop of London to his Clergy; and by the subsequent assent to the Declaration from the body of the London Clergy.

"REVEREND BRETHREN,

"I take it to be equally my duty to watch over your conduct, and to vindicate it when misrepresented. Lately I had an occasion to exhort you, as to a conscientious, regular, and edifying discharge of every part of your ministerial duty, so in particular to a special care in reading with great reverence, and with a lively devotion, the several offices of our Holy Liturgy, as occasion shall require, and lawful authority direct. This, I trust, you think yourselves obliged to do, in conscience to God, and obedience to the laws; and upon that foundation I cannot but hope the blame some of you are charged with in this respect, as namely that in the Public Divine Service you neglect to make such due and express mention of his Majesty and the Royal Family as the law and your duty requires, is altogether undeserved.

One instance given, viz. That, in the pulpit many of you do not use a Petitionary Form of Prayer before your Sermon, is, I am sure, a very incompetent proof of such an allegation. The practice of our first Reformers, which in their days obtained universally, and has been followed by many ever since, frees you from the blame of innovation in this case. And the practice of some other Protestant Churches justifies ours.

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But most especially the Church in her Canons, that have had the Royal sanction; and his present Majesty (whom God long preserve!) in his directions lately published, has prescribed your duty, and thereby rendered it a high presumption in any others to intermeddle in it. Wherefore, to this accusation it will be reasonable for you and me to answer, we have no such decided custom, neither the Churches of God.

But then, if there be any truth in a farther accusation, that is, that some of you do wholly abstain from reading the Common Prayer in your Churches, and consequently do not at all pray in public for the King and the Royal Family:

If, I say, this be the practice of any that are within the exception that the law allows, it will infer such a blame as can neither be palliated, nor ought to be borne with; and therefore I cannot, I ought not to forbear, on this occasion, to call all such (if any such there be) to the observation of their duty, the lowest degree whereof is what the Act of Uniformity, made in the 14th year of King Charles II. expressly requires; and I must also remind them, not only of the penalties to be inflicted by virtue of that Act, but of the great sin they are guilty of, in despising the Church of God, and rendering contemptible, as much as in them lies, its sacred and devout offices.

It is also requisite for me to mention the duty incumbent to read constantly at the stated times those prayers which have lately been appointed by authority to be used during the present seditious and rebellious distractions.

This, I hope, you all perform willingly, and with a hearty affection; as also that, in all your conversation and actions, you are careful to give proof of such a steadfast loyalty to his Majesty King GEORGE, and zeal for his service, as becomes the servants of Christ, and Members of the Church of England. I commend you to the protection of Almighty God; and am, Reverend Brethren, your affectionate brother,

Somerset-house, Nov. 9, 1715.

JOHN LONDON."

"*Sion College, Nov. 10.* Whereas a seasonable and excellent Declaration has been lately published, subscribed by the Archbishop of this Province, the Bishop of this Diocese, and several other Bishops, intituled, "A Declaration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops in and near London, testifying their abhorrence of the present Rebellion, with an exhortation to the Clergy and people under their care to be zealous in the discharge of their duties to his Majesty King George:"

George:" The President and Fellows of this College, assembled to consider a method of declaring their concurrence with his Grace and their Lordships in the said Declaration, did cheerfully take the first opportunity of professing such their concurrence; and the President, with many of the Fellows then present, did subscribe their names, as a public testimony of their hearty agreement. Several Fellows of the said College, and others of the Clergy in or about London have since subscribed; and, more having intimated their desire to subscribe in like manner, the Paper is now left at Sion College in the hands of the Library-keeper, and will lie open for receiving their subscriptions."

A cordial assent to the Declaration was also given by another Prelate*, as venerable for his patriarchal age and wisdom, as eminent for his profound learning and Christian virtues:

"To the Reverend the Clergy of the Diocese of Worcester:

MY REVEREND BRETHREN,

Hartlebury, Nov. 14, 1715.

I herewith send you a Copy of "A Declaration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops in and near London, testifying their abhorrence of the present Rebellion; with an exhortation to the Clergy and people under their care, to be zealous in the discharge of their duties to his Majesty King George;" which I have caused to be re-printed from the Copy thereof that I received by the last post from my Lord of Canterbury. I cannot but lament my living at so great a distance from his Grace, and the rest of my brethren the Bishops who have signed it, that I could not have an opportunity of joining with them in so excellent a work, and of testifying to the Publick my entire approbation of it, and my hearty concurrence with them, by subscribing my name, and having it printed among theirs at the end of the said Declaration. But, since that could not be, I think myself obliged to take some proper method of signifying to the world, and particularly to you, my Brethren, and to the people under our care, my sense of our present circumstances, and of the subject-matter of the said Declaration and Exhortation. This I find so truly and fully set forth therein, and so much better expressed than I can do it in other words, that I have resolved to get a sufficient number of them printed, together with my Circular Letter, and to have them read at such times as the Congregations should be fullest in every Church and Chapel

* Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester, 1699—1717.

within my Diocese. In order thereto, I have directed a copy of each to be conveyed and delivered to every one of you that officiate in them; and I do desire, and strictly charge and enjoin each of you, that, on some Sunday within a month after they shall come to your hands, you do and will, during the time of Divine Service, and before the beginning of the Sermon, distinctly and audibly read to your several Congregations, in your respective Churches and Chapels, as well this my Letter, as the Declaration printed with it; and that, when you have so done, you will, by a Letter directed to my Register, take the first opportunity of certifying me that you have performed what is here required of you.

I cannot doubt but your sentiments concerning the matters which occasioned the publishing of the said Declaration are wholly conformable to those of our most Reverend Metropolitan and of the rest of the Bishops, and of myself, as they are delivered in it; and therefore I depend not only upon your ready compliance herein, but also that you will all faithfully endeavour, by example as well as doctrine, to instruct your people in the duty they owe to our Most Gracious Sovereign King George, and to make them sensible, that (whatever may be pretended to the contrary), no one can be a hearty well-wisher or true friend to the excellent Constitution of our Church, who is not, with equal zeal and affection, disposed to do all he can to preserve and secure our present happy establishment in State.

I earnestly recommend your persons and labours to the blessing of Almighty God, and desire the return of your prayers for,

My Reverend Brethren,

Your truly affectionate Brother and aged Diocesan,
W. WORCESTER."

Nº IV. (see vol. I. p. 403.)

The following Biographical Memoir, communicated by the Reverend Richard Bingham, B. A. Minister of Gosport Chapel, Hants, and late Fellow of New College, Oxford, Great Grandson of the Learned Writer it commemorates, is a valuable Addition to these Volumes.

JOSEPH BINGHAM, the writer of many excellent and valuable tracts on theological subjects, highly merits honourable notice, as having been the learned and indefatigable author of that great and laborious performance, "*Origines Ecclesiasticæ*;

or, the Antiquities of the Christian Church." The father of this eminent Divine was Mr. Francis Bingham, a respectable inhabitant of Wakefield, in Yorkshire, and descended from a collateral branch of a very antient family, the founder whereof joined the standard of the Norman Invader immediately on his arrival in this country, and proved so zealous a supporter of his cause, that, when William divided those lands, which he chose to consider as forfeited, amongst his followers, he gave to one of them, whose name was Bingham, an estate near Melcomb in Dorsetshire, which then probably received from its new proprietor the appellation of Bingham Melcomb, which, as it has ever since continued in the possession of the same family, it still retains, and is now the property and residence of Richard Bingham, esq. the eldest and lineal descendant of the person to whom these lands were given by the Conqueror.

Mr. Joseph Bingham, thus descended on the father's side, was born at Wakefield in September, 1668. He learned the first rudiments of grammar at a school in the same town under Mr. Edward Clarke; and, on the 26th of May, 1684, was admitted a member of University College in Oxford. There he applied, with the most intense and persevering industry, to those studies which are generally considered as most laborious and most irksome. Though he by no means neglected the Writers of Greece and Rome, he did not content himself with solely cultivating an acquaintance with them, or with wandering in the pleasing walks of the belles lettres, but employed much of his time in reading the Writings of the Fathers, making himself intimately acquainted with their opinions and doctrines, and fully able both to explain and to defend their interpretation of the difficult or disputed passages of Scripture. How earnestly he devoted himself to these abstruse enquiries, he had an early opportunity of giving the most convincing and most honourable testimony, which will presently be mentioned more at large*. He took the degree of B. A. in 1688; and, on the first of July, 1689, was elected Fellow of the above-mentioned College. His election to this Fellowship was attended with some flattering marks of honour and

* For these particulars, and many others in this relation, the Writer is obliged to the condescending attention of Dr. Wetherell, the present Master of University College, who, in the politest and most obliging manner, took the trouble of examining the Records of his College, and from thence gave him every assistance and information in his power.

distinction*. Four gentlemen offered themselves as candidates; the examination was long and severe; at the conclusion of which Mr. Bingham was chosen by the unanimous voice of the Electors. On the 23d of June, 1691, he was created M. A; about four years after which, a circumstance occurred, which eventually occasioned him to leave the University. Being called on to preach before that learned body, he took that opportunity of evincing publicly the depth and solidity of his learning, his intimate acquaintance with the opinions and doctrines of the Primitive Fathers, and at the same time of displaying the zeal and perseverance with which he was resolved to defend and explain their belief and tenets concerning the Trinity, in opposition to the unjust attacks, or more probably ignorant errors, of men in much more conspicuous stations than himself. Having heard what he conceived to be a very erroneous statement of that subject, delivered by a leading man from the pulpit at St. Mary's, he thought it his duty not to let the opportunity which now offered escape him of pointing out what the Fathers had asserted to be the true, antient, and ecclesiastical notion of the term *Person*. In pursuance of this determination, he delivered a very long and learned discourse, on the 28th of October, 1695, from the famous words of the Apostle, "There are Three that bear record in Heaven, &c." This Sermon, though containing nothing more than an elaborate defence of the term *Person*, in opposition to the novel and heterodox explanation which he had lately heard, drew a very heavy censure on the Preacher from the ruling Members of the University†, charging him with having asserted doctrines false, impious,

* In that situation he paid particular attention to the instruction of a young man whom he had brought from Wakefield, and introduced at University College, and who, soon after Mr. Bingham's election to a Fellowship, was, by his means, elected Scholar of the same College. This was Mr. John Potter, who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Potter's tutor happening to die when he was no more than two years standing in the University, Mr. Bingham took his young friend and townsman under his wing; and to his having given some general directions to his studies similar to his own, it is reasonable to suppose that we owe that excellent Book, "Potter on Church Government."

† That such a censure was passed is most certain, as well from domestic tradition, as from the mention which is repeatedly made of it in the manuscript papers of our Author. But we are assured that no traces thereof are now to be found in the Books of the University.—In the Collection of Letters formed by Mr. Ballard (XV. 4, 5, 6,) Dr. Bingham endeavours to acquit himself of the charge of Arianism, and vindicates his Sermon. He gives his opinion (ib. 10), how Under Graduates ought to be treated when idle. It appears (ib. 12), that he designed a sett of maps for his Church History. He corrects a mistake, (ib. 13), in relation to Dr. Radcliffe; and another (14. 45. 52. 60. 61.) in relation to Mr. Gale's Antiquities of Winchester Cathedral.

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and heretical, contrary and dissonant to those of the Catholic Church. This censure was seconded with other charges in the prints, viz. those of Arianism, tritheism, and the heresy of Valentinus Gentilis. These matters ran so high, and the ferment against him was so great, that he found himself under the necessity of resigning his Fellowship, and of withdrawing from the University; the former of which took place on the 23d of November, 1695. How wholly unmerited these accusations were, not only appears from the Sermon itself, now in the possession of the writer of this article, but also from the whole tenor of his life and writings, wherein he was always a zealous and devout defender of the orthodox notion of the Trinity.

About this time, our Author was presented, without any solicitation on his part, by the famous Dr. Radcliffe, one of the most liberal benefactors to the University of Oxford, to the rectory of Headbourne Worthy, a living valued at that time at about one hundred pounds a year, situated at a little more than one mile from Winchester. Within a few months after his settling in this country, being called on to preach at a Visitation held in the Cathedral of Winchester on the 12th of May, 1696; he seized that opportunity of pursuing the subject which he had begun at Oxford, and of exculpating himself from those charges which had been brought against him. How little our Divine had deserved those imputations in the opinion of his brethren before whom he preached, may, in some degree, be judged from his having been, at no greater distance of time than the 16th of September, 1697, again appointed to preach before them on a similar occasion. He then brought to a conclusion what he wished farther to say on that subject, his manner of treating which had exposed him to the censure of the University; and, having done so, he prepared to commit the three Sermons to the Press. Why this intention was not fulfilled cannot be gathered from any of his papers, though there exists among them a long Preface to the Sermon preached at Oxford, explaining and justifying his motives for having preached and published it; and a second Preface annexed to the first of those preached at Winchester, in which he dedicates the two Visitation Sermons to the Clergy of the Deanry before whom they were delivered; wherein he tells them, that he has been induced to do so, not only from the subject contained in them being such as was their immediate concern, but also that he might have an opportunity of giving a more full account of the motives and circumstances

circumstances which had occasioned him to write or publish them. "To do which, he says, I must give you, Reverend Sirs, an account of another Sermon which I preached before the learned Body of the University of Oxford, for which I incurred the displeasure of some of the Heads of that place. The main of my crime, though other reasons were pretended, was, that I had tacitly reflected on a leading person in the University, who, under pretence of explaining the notion of three persons in the Blessed Trinity, had manifestly, though not designedly, given up the cause to the Socinian adversary: for his notion is, that the terms Person, Father, Son, Generation, &c. are not proper, but only metaphorical terms, as they are used in the doctrine of the Trinity, and that three persons means no more but either three different names or offices, or different respects and capacities of one and the same thing; as Tully says of himself, *sustineo unus tres personas, mei, adversarii, judicis*. So God, in his opinion, is no otherwise three persons than as he may be considered under the different habitudes, or capacities, of a Creator, a Redeemer, and a Sanctifier. This doctrine he delivered publicly, both in his Sermons before the University, and in his letters against the Socinians; which, though none of his learned brethren, till of late, were pleased to censure, yet the Socinians immediately took notice of it, and declared in print, that, if this was all that Catholics meant by a Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, they (or however the Sabellians) would subscribe this doctrine, and put an end to all the controversies about it. And indeed it is no wonder they should make such a declaration; for this notion of three persons is no other but that classic equivocal notion, which the antient Church always condemned in Sabellius, and the Romanists in Laurentius Valla, and the Protestants in Servetus, who all own three persons in their own sense (i. e. in the sense that *persona* and *ὑποστασις* are taken in classic authors), as the Socinians now pretend to do. I could not, I confess, but with some regret see the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity thus explained away, and no one but the Socinians take notice of it, who thence also took occasion to invent that scandalous distinction betwixt nominal and real Trinitarians, reckoning the nominal (that is themselves) the only Catholics, and all others Tritheistic Heretics. Having therefore an opportunity to preach before the learned and venerable body of the University, after a strict enquiry into the sense of the Catholic Church upon this great article of our faith (upon which the whole œconomy

economy of the Christian Religion, as it is Christian, depends), I took occasion modestly, without naming the Author, to animadvert upon his novel and heterodox notion, which gave such advantage to the Socinian adversary: and, in doing it, I used what I conceived to be the properest method, which was to oppose to this modern notion the ancient ecclesiastical notion of the term *Person* as delivered by the primitive Fathers: nor, in doing this, had I any wish (as has been insinuated) of ingratiating myself with the Dean of St. Paul's *, or any other person (all that know my conversation will think otherwise of me); but it was purely to hint to others what I had satisfied myself was true. I had been for some time consulting originals (which all men have either not opportunity, or time, or will, to do); and I was sorry to find the genuine sense of Antiquity violently run down (none interposing though many be sensible of it) under the pretence of being Tritheism." The Preface proceeds to give a very long and learned account of what Mr. Bingham had in his Sermons asserted concerning the opinions of the Fathers. To follow or repeat his observations on this subject would lead us into matter too prolix for an article of biography. Let it therefore suffice to add the account which he gives of the motives that induced him to pursue the course of his arguments, and the result of his enquiries before the Clergy at the Visitation; and the manner in which he speaks of their attention to his discourse. "This, he continues, was the sum of what I then asserted in an historical way, concerning the notion which the Fathers had of the divine persons, and this with as innocent a design as ever man had, only to shew that the thing which gave the Socinians occasion to insult us as mere nominal Trinitarians was not the genuine exposition of the sense of the Catholic Church, but only the singular explication of a late leading author, who, with Laurentius Valla, and Servetus, had fetched his notion of persons and personal distinction from Cicero and the Classicks, and not from the writings of the Primitive Fathers: yet this occasioned that heavy censure, which charged me with asserting doctrines false, impious, and heretical, contrary and dissonant to the doctrine of the Catholick Church; though I was doing nothing all the time but delivering both the words and sense of the Catholick Fathers in opposition to that leading person who had despised them all, to follow an exotic notion, which was never received by the Catholic Church. But

* Dr. Sherlock, father of the late Bishop of London of that name.

this was not all: the decree was seconded with three other charges in the prints that followed, viz. that of Arianism, Tritheism, and the heresy of Valentinus Gentilis. Now these were heavy charges indeed, and, if true, enough to give all wise and sober men a just abhorrence of any one that stood charged with them. This being then my present case, when I first came among you, I could not but think myself obliged to wipe off these as unjust, as scandalous charges, and free myself from those prejudices under which, perhaps, I might otherwise have laboured in the opinion of those with whom I was to have my daily converse. Therefore, being called by the command of my superiors, to discharge a public office at a visitation, I thought no subject of discourse so proper as that which would give me at once an opportunity both of asserting the Catholick Faith, and wiping off those calumnies which were causelessly thrown upon me; and this I endeavoured to do in the first of these discourses, wherein I have summed up the main force of the argument from Scripture and Antiquity against the professed adversaries of our Saviour's Divinity. How well I might manage it to your satisfaction I am not able justly to say; it is sufficient to me, that, meeting with a learned, judicious, and unprejudiced auditory, and an Assembly of Bereans too, I so far gained your approbation as not to be thought worthy of another censure." Thus much it seemed necessary to say in writing the life of this eminent Divine, that the grounds on which so heavy, and, it may be added, so unjust an accusation was brought against him, may be made known to every candid and liberal enquirer; lest a censure, however incurred, having been passed by the Rulers of a great and learned University, might be considered as a blot in the character of a man, who, by every account which has been handed down from his parishioners, or his own immediate family, was, both in his private life, and in his literary pursuits, as also in his morality, disposition, and religious tenets, irreproachable and exemplary.

About six or seven years after our Author had taken up his residence at Worthy, he married Dorothea, one of the daughters of the Rev. Richard Pocock, at that time Rector of Colmer, in Hampshire. By this lady, in the course of a very few years, before he had any other preferment than the small living above-mentioned, he became the father of ten children; yet, neither did he suffer the rapid increase of his family, nor the consequent narrowness of his finances, to depress his spirits, or impede the progress of his studies;

on

on the contrary, he appears to have applied to his literary pursuits with a closer and more persevering industry; and by those means, in the course of what cannot be considered as a long life, he was enabled to complete, in this country retirement, besides several other single volumes*, a most learned and laborious work, closely printed in ten volumes in octavo, under the title of "*Origines Ecclesiasticæ, or the Antiquities of the Christian Church*;" the first volume of which he published in 1708; and it pleased Providence to spare his life till he had brought this useful and arduous undertaking to a perfect and full conclusion. He committed the tenth and last volume to the press in 1722; and died in August 1723. Of the various difficulties with which our Author had to contend in the prosecution of his labours, he frequently speaks in such pointed terms as cannot but excite both our sympathy and regret. He tells us, that he had to struggle with an infirm and tickly constitution, and constantly laboured under the greatest disadvantages for want of many necessary books which he had no opportunity to see, and no ability to purchase. At the same time he does not omit to express his gratitude to Providence, which had so placed him that he could have recourse to a very excellent Library†, though even that was deficient in many works to which he had occasion to refer; and yet, when we turn to the *Index Auctorum* at the end of his work, we shall perhaps be astonished at the vast number of books which he appears to have consulted. But to such straits was he driven for want of books, that he frequently procured imperfect copies at a cheap rate, and then employed a part of that time, of which so small a portion was allotted, and which therefore could so ill be spared, in the tedious task of transcribing the deficient pages; instances of which are still in existence, and

* Of these were: 1. The French Church's Apology for the Church of England; or the Objections of Dissenters against the Articles, Homilies, Liturgy, and Canons of the English Church, considered, and answered, upon the Principles of the Reformed Church of France. A Work chiefly extracted out of the authentic Acts and Decrees of the French National Synods, and the most approved Writers of that Church, 1706, 8vo. 2. Scholastic History of the Practice of the Church in Reference to the Administration of Baptism by Laymen: Part i. 1712, 8vo. 3. A scholastic History of Lay-baptism: Part ii. with some Considerations on Dr. Brett's Answer to the first Part, 8vo. to which is prefixed, The State of the present Controversy, and at the End is an Appendix, containing some Remarks on the Author of the second Part of Lay-baptism invalid. 4. A Discourse concerning the Mercy of God to penitent Sinners: intended for the Use of Persons troubled in mind. Being a Sermon on Psalm ciii. 13; printed singly at first; and re-printed among the rest of his Works, in 2 vols. folio, 1725.

† The Library of the Cathedral Church of Winchester; being a very valuable Collection bequeathed to that body for the advancement of learning amongst the Parochial Clergy, by the renowned Bishop Morley.

serve as memorials of his indefatigable industry on all occasions. In the year 1712 Sir Jonathan Trelawny, at that time Bishop of Winchester, was pleased to collate our learned Divine to the rectory of Havant, near Portsmouth, as a reward for his learning and other excellent qualifications; which preferment, together with the sums which he was daily receiving from the sale of his works, seemed, in some measure, to have removed the narrowness of his circumstances, and to promise a comfortable maintenance for his numerous family: but this pleasing prospect shortly disappeared; for Providence thought proper to put his virtue to the trial, by depriving him at once of all the profits which he had been reaping from the incessant toil and study of his whole life. In a word, he lost almost, or quite, the whole of his hardly-earned gains in 1720, by the bursting of the well-known South-Sea bubble; yet, such was the tranquillity of his disposition, such his undisturbed piety and resignation, that this loss seemed to make no impression upon him; but he continued his studies without intermission almost to the very end of his life; for though but a few months elapsed between the publication of the last volume of "Origines" and his death, yet that short time was employed in preparing materials for other useful and laborious works, and in making preparations for a new edition of "Origines:" with this view he inserted many manuscript observations in a set of the antiquities which he preserved for his own use, and which are now in the possession of the writer of this article; but from this, and all other employments, he was prevented by death. His constitution, which was by nature extremely weak and delicate, could not be otherwise than much impaired by so unremitted a course of laborious studies in a life wholly sedentary and recluse; which brought on, at an early period, all the symptoms and infirmities of a very advanced age. The approach of his dissolution being clearly visible both to himself and friends, it was settled between the then Bishop of Winchester* and himself, that he should resign Havant, to enable his Lordship to appoint some friend of the family to hold it till his eldest son, then about twenty years of age, could be collated to it: as this, however, was not carried into execution, it is probable that his death came on more hastily than had been expected. And here it will not be thought impertinent to mention, in justice to the memory of Bishop Trimnell, that it was his declared intention to have collated our learned Divine to

* Dr. Charles Trimnell, who succeeded Sir Jonathan Trelawny in 1721.

the first vacant Prebend in the Church of Winchester, which, together with that before-mentioned, are such proofs of his Lordship's discernment of merit and love of learning, as ought never to be forgotten. After a life thus spent in the most honourable and useful pursuits, Mr. Bingham died on the 17th of August, 1723, it may truly be said, of old age, though he was then only in his 55th year. His body was buried in the church-yard of Headbourn Worthy, but, as he frequently expressed a dislike to monuments and pompous inscriptions, nothing was erected to his memory, more than a plain tomb stone over his grave, mentioning his name and age, and the year of his death. At the time of his decease only six of his ten children, two sons and four daughters, were living; these, with their widowed mother, were left in very contracted circumstances. Mrs. Bingham was therefore induced to sell the copy-right of her late husband's writings to the booksellers, who immediately republished the whole of his works in two volumes in folio, without making any alteration whatsoever: and though the eldest son undertook the office of correcting the press, he did not insert any of the manuscript additions which his father had prepared; as he was then so very young that he probably had not had an opportunity of examining his father's books and papers sufficiently to discover that any such preparations for a new edition had been made. Mr. Richard Bingham, the person on whom this task devolved, had been bred on the foundation at Winchester School, and from thence, on the nomination of the same Dr. Potter of whom we have spoken before, and who was at that time Regius Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church in Oxford, was appointed a Student of that College. It happened that the Bishop of Winchester and Mr. Joseph Bingham died on the same day: the right of presentation to the living of Havant therefore lapsed to the crown, from whence it was obtained, probably by the interest of Bishop Potter, for a Mr. Baddeley to hold till the eldest son of our Author should be of age to take it; accordingly, when Mr. Richard Bingham was in Priests orders, he was collated to it by Bishop Willis; and acquitted himself in that situation, during an incumbency of thirty-seven years, as a man endowed with a strong and excellent understanding, and of the most exemplary piety, integrity, and honour. Of the four daughters, one married a gentleman of Hampshire, the other three died single. The second son will be mentioned in a separate article. The widow died in a very advanced age, in Bishop Warner's College for Clergymen's Widows at

Bromley, in Kent, in 1755, and was buried, with one of her daughters, in Bromley church-yard *. Of such importance have the works of this eminent writer been esteemed in foreign countries, that they have all been translated into Latin, with the utmost correctness, by a Divine of a German University. This undertaking the Author himself strongly recommended to any person of industry and ability, as a work which would, he conceived, be highly useful to the Protestant Churches on the Continent. He did not live to receive this flattering mark of approbation; for he died, as has been before observed, in 1723; and we find the first volume of his "Origines" was published in Latin by Johannes Henricus Grischonius, at Halle, in 1724. Here it may not be amiss to observe how frequently it occurs that the merits of an eminent ancestor derive honour and emolument on their posterity. It is presumed that the character, not the person, whose life we have been writing, was the means of procuring the living of Havant for his eldest son, and the late learned and excellent † Bishop of London expressly assigns that reason for bestowing a comfortable living on his grandson. "I venerate," says he, in a letter which conveyed the presentation, "the memory of your excellent grandfather, my father's particular and most intimate friend. He was not rewarded as he ought to have been; I therefore give you this living as a small recompense for his great and inestimable merits." We shall conclude this article by giving the general character of this great Divine: as a writer his learning was deep, extensive, and acute; his style zealous, strong, energetic, and convincing, and his application uncommonly persevering and unwearied. His temper on all common and indifferent occasions was mild, humane, charitable, and benevolent; but to these he united a zeal and fervour in the cause of learning and truth, which no names or authority, however great, could awe him to relinquish, no infirmities of body, or weakness of constitution, could deter him from pursuing, and which no obstacle, disappointment, or opposition, could diminish or impede. Though his passions were so wholly subject to the guidance of Religion and Virtue, that no worldly losses were sufficient to ruffle or discompose him; yet, whenever he believed the important interests of

* See an epitaph for Mrs. Bingham and her daughter Constance, and one which was intended for Mr. Bingham (but not used), in vol. I. p. 404.

† Dr. Lowth.

Christianity or Truth to be in danger, he was always eager and ready to step forth in their defence: so free, unshackled, and disinterested, was his mind, that, according to his own words, "though he loved not to enter into disputes with any man, yet he did not think great names so venerable as to be of sufficient authority to lead others by their dictates only, especially in matters of fact and history, unless they assign just grounds or their assertions."

JOSEPH BINGHAM, the second son of the eminent writer before-mentioned, was the last of his numerous family, and consequently extremely young at the time of his father's death. Though he died in very early life, yet, during the short period of his existence, he pursued his studies with such unremitting perseverance, and gave such early proofs of genius and sound understanding, and so strongly evinced his determination to tread in the foot-steps of his father, as fully entitle him to hang, as it were, on the arm of his learned parent, and thus obtain a few lines from the pen of the biographer. This young man received his education on the foundation at the Charter-house, from whence he was, at the usual age, removed to Corpus College in Oxford. In the University he was a most exemplary and persevering student, and was preparing to give public proofs of his diligence, having actually printed every part, except the title-page and preface, of a very valuable edition of the Theban story, which was completed and published, after his death, by a gentleman into whose hands his papers had fallen, as a security for a sum of money which had been borrowed to facilitate the publication. Whilst he was thus usefully employed, and just as he was on the point of being ordained, with every prospect of promotion, from the patronage of Archbishop Potter, he was suddenly brought to his grave, at the immature age of 22, by an illness wholly occasioned by too sedentary a life, and too close an application to his studies. He lies buried in the cloisters of Corpus College, without either monument, inscription, or stone erected to his memory, though it might most truly be said of him, that he fell a martyr to application, industry, and learning.

N^o V. The Family of TRIMNELL (see vo^l. I. p. 107.)

The Rev. Charles Trimnell, son of Edmund Trimnell of Wiltshire, descended from a family of that name seated at Ockley-hall* in Worcestershire, after a classical education at Winchester, was elected fellow of New College, Oxford; whence he was ejected by the Parliamentary Committee of Visitors in the Civil War. He was afterwards admitted of Cambridge; and in 1657 obtained the rectory of Abbot Ripton in Huntingdonshire; where he died in 1702; and where a mural monument on the South side of the chancel bears this epitaph:

“ M. S.

reverendi admodum viri CAROLI TRIMNELL,
et MARIE Uxoris.

Hæc, per xxvi annos felicissima conjugio,
septem filiis totidemque filiabus maritum beavit,
è vitâ excessit

anno Domini 1684, ætatis 48.

suis, vicinis egenis, desideratissima.

Ille, utriusque Academiæ alumnus,
utriusque ornamentum;

ex alterâ per iniquitatem temporum ejectus,
in alteram, rebus aliquantulum pacatis, receptus est;
utrobique et Regi exulanti, et Ecclesiæ afflictæ fidelis.
annos amplius XLV hujus Ecclesiæ rector;

Divini cultûs et honoris vindex constantissimus.
charitatis et beneficentiæ opera promovit assiduus,
et hortatu suo, et exemplo;

eo magis Christi pauperumque memor,
quo minus numerosæ suæ sobolis immemor.

Optimâ orbatus conjuge, conjux optimus,
per annos XVII unus utrumque egit parentem;
liberos habens pios, invicem amantes, modestos, probos,
optima pietatis suæ indicia et præmia;
è quibus, (sex in ipso juventutis flore extinctis)
quatuor mares, totidemque foeminas, superstites reliquit;
tres illorum ad presbyteratum evectos,
tres harum presbyteris dicatas;
omnes parentem ad Tumulum eodem animo,
vultu alio, ac olim ad Templum,
longo ordine sequebantur.

Obiit anno Domini 1702, ætatis 77.”

Arms: Or, across, engrailed Gules, surmounted of a bend, Azure;
Trimnell; impaling, Or, two bars, in chief three cinquefoils.

* Thomas Trimnell, of this family, founded a school, and gave other charities to the parishes of Stow, Claines, and elsewhere. Nash, Worcestershire, II. 337.

In the preceding epitaph it is mentioned that this excellent Divine left four sons, three of whom were of eminence in the church; and as many daughters, *totidemque fœminas*; and that three of these females were married to clergymen, *tres harum presbyteris dicatas*.

Catharine, one of them, was married to Dr. Thomas Green, successively Bishop of Norwich and Ely; and, observes Masters, in his History of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, p. 181, "happy was he in the choice of so excellent a woman."

Anne, the daughter of Charles, and of course the sister of the Bishop, who did not connect herself in connubial bonds with one of the cloth, was married to Alured Clarke, of Godmanchester, co. Huntingdon, gent. Their issue were, amongst others, Reuben, who became Archdeacon of Essex, Rector of St. Magnus near London Bridge, and Vicar of Chigwell; Alured, who was Prebendary of Winchester and Westminster, and Dean of Exeter; and Charles, who was a Baron of the Exchequer, and died of the gaol distemper caught at the Old Bailey Sessions-house in 1750. See Masters's Hist. p. 267---269, who notices that old Mr. and Mrs. Clarke lived together upwards of fifty years, and it is recollected that a Jubilee Feast was given on the anniversary of the wedding-day.

Dr. Charles Trimnell, the eldest son, had his education at Winchester, whence his merits advanced him to a fellowship in New college; to which he was an ornament, by a singular happiness of temper, sound learning, and an exemplary and abstemious life; and where he took the degree of M. A. Jan. 24, 1685; and soon afterwards accompanied lord Charles Spencer, in his travels, as governor and tutor. By the interest of his noble pupil, he was installed in the sixth prebend in the church of Norwich, Dec. 4, 1691; presented to the rectory of Boddington*, in Northamptonshire, 1694, which he held till 1696, when he was presented to the rectory of St. James, Westminster, and collated to the archdeaconry of Norfolk July 20, 1698. Lord Charles Spencer, in 1702, having succeeded to his father's title of Earl of Sunderland, and in 1706 become Secretary of State; it is plain, by a passage in one of Atterbury's Letters (I. 157.) that Dr. Trimnell had early expectance of a mitre; and on the translation of Dr. Moore, Bishop of Norwich, to the see of Ely, he succeeded to the vacant diocese. On his first entry into Norwich, May 21, 1707, he was met by 30 coaches,

* Bridges, Northamptonshire, vol. I. p. 106.

40 clergymen, and a great number of gentlemen and citizens on horseback; and preached at the Cathedral on the Sunday following. He continued Bishop of that diocese till the death of Sir Jonathan Trelawny, in 1721, whom he succeeded at Winchester; and, by virtue of his dignity in that church, was Prelate of the Garter. Whilst Bishop of Norwich, he was Clerk of the Closet to the King, and enjoyed that post till his translation to the see of Winchester*. Bishop Trimnell died at Farnham August 15, 1723, in the 63d year of his age; and his corpse was carried on the 26th to the Episcopal Palace called Wolfey house, in Winchester, where, having lain in state under a purple canopy, with all the ensigns belonging to his high function in the church, till nine at night of the day following, it was carried with great order and solemnity to the Cathedral, and was met by the Sub-dean and Chapter, at the West end of the church, in their proper robes, with wax candles in their hands, and conducted into the Choir; where the funeral service was performed by the Sub-dean, the Dean himself being brother to the deceased, and chief mourner on this sad occasion. The procession was made on foot; and Dr. Cheney, then master of Winchester school, having caused one of the head-scholars of the College to pronounce a funeral oration in honour of the deceased, who had his first education there; the corpse, according to the Bishop's will, was interred near the tomb of William of Wickham, formerly bishop of that see, and the founder of Winchester college, and New college in Oxford. The following inscription is engraven on a beautiful large slab of black marble, level with the pavement, or not rising more than an inch above it:

“ M. S.

CAROLI TRIMNELL, S. T. P.

primùm Norvicensis,

dein Wintoniensis Episcopi.

utriusque Dioecesis Clero

desideratissimi.

Fuit enim

Episcopus (si quis alius) ad Apostoli normam ritè compositus.

ore, habitu, gestu, ac sermone κοσμιος,

in excipiendis omnibus φιλοξενος,

in moderando clero επεικης;

* “ Political State” for August, 1723, p. 236.

et quam fuerit ἀφιλαργυρος
 testantur
 ædes utriusque Sedis Episcopalis
 sumptibus ipsius haud exiguis reparatæ
 et elegantiores.
 Is denique fuit
 quem Ecclesia habuit integerrimum antistitem,
 qui Clerum Populumque sibi commissum
 exemplo duxit,
 eruditione edocuit,
 dignitate rexit,
 et humanitate conciliavit.
 Quem Respublica simul experta est fidissimum Optimatem,
 in dissimilibus rerum ac temporum vicibus
 eundem & sui similem,
 Libertatis Patriæ & Salutis Publicæ
 animo, consiliis, operâ,
 indefessum Fautorem:
 Quem in vicinâ Wiccami Scholâ institutum
 Wiccamici sui reducem læti exceperunt:
 ut quæ Collegia ornaverant Alumnus,
 ea patrociniò suo foveret Episcopus.
 Sub nudo denique hoc marmore,
 posthabitâ solemnioris sepulchri pompâ,
 hic juxta Fundatorem suum tumulari
 testamento curavit.
 Obiit xv^o die Augusti,
 æræ Christianæ MDCCXXIII.
 anno { ætatis sexagesimo,
 episcopatus decimo-sexto,
 translationis secundo."

Bishop Trimnell was twice married; and left behind him a Widow, daughter to Dr. Talbot, Bishop of Durham. He had the satisfaction to see his two brothers well provided for in the Church. Fifteen single sermons of his, twelve of them after he obtained the mitre, are enumerated in Letsome; and the Reader will find, in vol. I. p. 405, a handsome eulogium on this worthy Prelate by Dr. Bingham.

Bishop Burnet, in the History of his own Times, vol. II. 488, speaking of Bishop Trimnell, says, "a worthy person in all respects was named for the See of Norwich;" and Dr. Wotton, in the Life of Bishop Kennett, p. 183, calls him "a Prelate of great piety and charity, of true integrity,
 joined

joined with consummate wisdom, and a masterly address in public affairs."

A. 1707, Dec. 2, Anniversary Meeting of the Sons of the Clergy; the Sermon preached by Charles Trimnell, D. D. It is dedicated to the Stewards by name, among whom were
Joseph Addison, Esq;
Francis Atterbury, Esq;

Qu. Who was this Francis Atterbury? [He was elected, Nov. 8, 1711, one of the Court of Assistants of the Corporation for Clergymen's Widows and Orphans.]

1707-8, January 14. Dr. Trimnell preached before the House of Commons on a General Fast Day. In the order for printing this Discourse the epithet "excellent" is used; and, in a title-page, London, 1708, the third "edition" is noticed.

1708-9, January 30, Sermon on taking his leave of the parish of St. James's, Westminster.

At p. 15, is this account of the then state of the parish of St. James: "The numerous and orderly assemblies on the returns of these days, and those multitudes that without superstition or tumult every month crowd up to the altar; the good congregations there are at the four courses of the daily prayers; the encouragement that is given by those who are advanced in knowledge and years to the catechising of children, by a greater appearance than ordinary on the days of that exercise; the calling for more opportunities of worship, which has added a course to the daily service in one part of the parish (King's Street Chapel) and occasioned the opening of a new Chapel in another (Berwick Street), &c. are marks of your professed subjection to the Gospel of Christ."

Johnson, the compiler of the Clergyman's Vade Mecum, in a long Preface to the second volume, first broached his notion of the Eucharist being called justly a sacrifice, &c. And this was censured by the Bishop of Norwich, in a charge to his Clergy the same year, 1710, which highly offended Mr. Johnson; and therefore, in a long Postscript to another Tract, published also in 1710, he attempted to answer the passages in the Bishop of Norwich's charge, but without his name, to avoid prejudices. Masters's Hist. p. 321, 322.

The two first paragraphs in the Bishop's Address are as follow: "Reverend Brethren, In compliance with the desire of many among you, I have at last published entire (viz. in 1710) what I delivered at first in several parts; in hopes it will not be of less satisfaction and use to you now, than you

seemed to think it was when you heard it. The delay that has been in printing it leaves me indeed without that apology now for the faults and imperfections of it, which the condition of my health at that time entitled me to; and I must no farther plead that excuse, if I should have occasion to make one.

"I have, I confess, reviewed it as carefully as my interruptions since would admit; and am willing to hope there is no great mistake or want of consequence in it. I have also inserted some few authorities into the body of it, the better to confirm what I then said, and had not time to dwell long upon; and have also added an Appendix, in farther confutation of that independence of the Church upon the State which has of late been advanced. I did this the rather, because I thought the peace both of Church and State more immediately concerned in it; and could not but apprehend mischief coming to both, from a pretension so new among those who call themselves members of the Church of England, a Church that has been hitherto as much distinguished, as it has been supported, by rejecting that claim."

The Bishop's Stricture against Johnson's Notion touching the *offer of a proper sacrifice in the Sacrament of the Eucharist*, is at p. 17 of the Charge; which he says he "mentions the rather, because, being in the Author's Second Part of *The Clergyman's Vade Mecum*, it is a Book written on purpose to come into every Clergyman's hand."

1711, August 19, Preached at the Chapel-house at Tunbridge Wells, being a day of collection for the Minister.

P. 21. "Let us endeavour to make peace wherever we can, as the greatest kindness we can do ourselves, and the greatest service we can do the world. We may make some little judgement of the pleasure that would spring up to us from such common endeavours, by that degree of it we feel in studying only to oblige one another at this place of refreshment and ease; where a respite from strife, as well as from business, sweetens our tempers, and quiets our minds. And, if so small a truce as this has such great and agreeable effects, what can we think would our joy and satisfaction be, were our divisions not only closed for a while, but perfectly healed by a national, firm, and Christian peace?"

1711-12. January 30, Sermon before the House of Lords. The Preface.---"After the misrepresentations that have been made of the following Sermon throughout the kingdom, and dispersed in print in my own diocese; I should be wanting to myself, and to the station in which it hath pleased God to place

place me, if I did not submit it to public view, that the world may judge of it from what they saw it, and not from what they heard it to be. The reader has it exactly as it was delivered, without any alteration; and I believe he will find that there is no ground for those characters which have been with so much liberty fixed upon it. As the being popular was never my design in the discharge of this or any other part of my duty: so I am very sure I have always endeavoured to avoid, as much as I could, giving the least just offence, especially to those above me, in doing that which at any time I thought incumbent upon me. I dare appeal to all that know me, that my whole conduct has been hitherto peaceable in itself, and respectful to my superiours: and I hope it will not appear to have been otherwise in the ensuing discourse."

The following notes concerning this Fast Sermon are from "The Political State of Great Britain," Vol. III.

P. 68, 69. The anniversary of King Charles the First's Martyrdom. The Sermon before the Queen was preached by Mr. Pawlet St. John, rector of Yeldon. It was printed by command, and he was thanked for it, or, as it is somewhat quaintly observed in the margin, *is thanked for his thanks*. Dr. Thomas Gooch, Fellow of Gonvill and Caius College in Cambridge, preached before the House of Commons. He received also the thanks of the House, and was desired to print his Sermon. Nor, remarks the compiler of this periodical tract, was that acknowledgement unmerited at the hands of the persons now in power, were it but for the passage cited from page 20 of the Sermon. At p. 11, continues the compiler, the Lord Bishop of Norwich preached the same day before the House of Lords, but his Sermon not having the good fortune to please the majority of his noble auditory, he received no thanks for it; but, the same having been misrepresented even in print, the Prelate thought fit to publish it for his own vindication. The passage which is said to have been excepted against is cited from page 7. of the Sermon; and other passages are quoted in justification of the Bishop.

The Bishop of Norwich published also a circular letter delivered to the Clergy at his Visitation of the Diocese in the year 1716, in which, at p. 2, is this paragraph:

"As I have not seen any reason to alter my own judgement as to those opinions, so neither will I repeat any thing I said about the *Independence of the Church upon the State, the proper Sacrifice of the Eucharist, or the Power of Sacramental Absolution*: but shall content myself to observe to you some of those inconveniences which have plainly flowed from the former of these."

One

One of the Bishop's brothers, Dr. William Trimnell, was elected from Eton to King's College in 1690; held in Northamptonshire the united rectories of Wyke Dyve and Wyke Hamm, to which he was presented in 1703 by the Sunderland family, and where, in 1716, he placed the following epitaph on a free-stone within the rails of the altar:

" Hic jacet CATHARINA
GULIELMI TRIMNELL, hujus ecclesiæ rectoris,
UXOR:
quæ dote pulchrâ,
prole pulchriori,
moribus pulcherrimis,
(quales pudicas ornant matronas,
quales sacerdotum decent uxores,)
consortem viva satis beatum reddidit,
mœstissimum defuncta;
cujus in memoriam
optimè de marito,
optimè de liberis,
quibus vitam impendebat, meritæ,
hoc saxum poni curavit
maritus in conjugem animi non ingrati,
et ut liberi olim matris
nec sint immemores nec dissimiles.
Obiit Jul. 14, anno Domini 1716, ætatis 39."

Dr. William Trimnell was made Chaplain to the King in 1718; having been, when the King was at Cambridge in the preceding year, Oct. 6, 1717, admitted D. D. by royal mandate; installed Archdeacon of Norwich, April 21, 1720.

In 1721 he obtained the rectory of Brington* in Northamptonshire; and soon after was presented by his brother the Bishop to the valuable rectory of Cheriton in Hampshire; and obtained the deanry of Winchester on the death of Dr. Wilkhont in 1721-2. He was a Divine of great learning, published a "Concio ad Clerum" in 1727, died of the small-pox April 14, 1729, and was buried in his Cathedral; where, on a flat slab, collateral with that of the Bishop, is this epitaph.

" H. S. E.
Gulielmus Trimnell, S. T. P.
adjacentis Rectoriæ de Cheriton Rector,

* Bridges, Northamptonshire, vol. I. pp. 22, 474

necnon hujus Ecclesiæ DECANUS ;
 qui,
 post plures annos (in agro Northampton.)
 vigilantissimi Parochi laboribus insumptos,
 ad hujus Ecclesiæ gubernacula admotus,
 ita hanc provinciam ornavit, et se
 in rebus gerendis solertem,
 in administrando regimina æquum et prudentem,
 in Precibus, Concionibus, cæterisque Decani muniis, assiduum,
 in eleemosynis erga egenos largum,
 in familiari convicctu comem adeo ac benignum
 præstitit,
 ut, suavi morum temperamento,
 affinium, amicorum, omniumque quibuscum res erat,
 animos facilè sibi devinxerit.
 De quo demum sufficiat dixisse
 quod fuit Reverendi admodum Præsulis juxta humati
 frater undique germanus.
 Obiit, variolis correptus,
 et immatura filii sui (egregii adolescentis) funera
 præpropera heu ! celeritate insecutus,
 decimo quarto die Aprilis,
 anno { æræ Christianæ MDCCXXIX.
 { ætatis suæ LVIII.”

Bishop Trimnell's remains are deposited under the fourth arch from the west end of the Cathedral, on the south side of it ; William of Wykeham's chantry being under the adjoining fifth arch. The Dean, his brother, lies beside him, in a situation partly within the nave, and partly under the fourth arch. His grave-stone at the feet is parallel with that of the bishop, but it is shorter at the head, the latter being ornamented at the top with the arms of the see, &c. carved in bold relief. The Dean's grave-stone is lengthened out at the head with an oblong stone to the memory of his son William, on which is this epitaph :

“ H. S. E.
 Gulielmus Trimnel,
 G. Trimnel hujus Ecclesiæ nuper Decani filius,
 et Coll. B. M. W^a. prope Winton. alumnus.
 Obiit 9 Aug. A. D. 1729.
 Ætat. XVII.”

On a slab in the nave of the cathedral, at a small distance on the North side of his father, is this inscription.

" H. S. E.

Carolus Trimnel,
Reverendi admodum Præfulis
juxta depositi Nepos,
illique, quantum per ætatem licuit,
simillimus;
Gulielmi Trimnel, S. T. P.,
hujus Ecclesiæ Decani, filius.
quem Etona primùm instituit,
deinde alteri Collegio Regali adscriptum,
Cantabrigia varietate literarum perpolivit;
ibi ille asperioribus Philosophiæ et Matheseôs Studiis
elegantiam Doctrinæ non sejunxit.
Probæ hunc piæque indolis adolescentem
liberali morum orisque verecundiâ
sibi facillimè amorem conciliantem,
summi ingenii gloriâ florentem,
supra annos eruditum,
linguarum veterum peritissimum,
necnon recentibus,
(quas in utrâque prælegendas Academiâ
primus jussit Rex optimus Georgius)
Gallicâ, Italâ, Hispanâ rudem,
in primo ineuntis famæ et juventutis flore,
infensa febris succidit;
in uberiores aliquando fructus germinaturum,
si virtutes ejus plenius maturuissent;
qui denique futurus erat
patriæ, parentis et propinquorum
decori & solatio
triste fuit, eheu! desiderium,
Obiit Londini,
Okt. 21. A. D. MDCCXXVI. ætat. 21."

On a slab near that of their brother Charles, in the nave of the church, being opposite to the entry of Wykeham's chantry,

" Here lieth the body of
Mary Trimnel,
daughter of the Rev. Dr. William Trimnel,
late Dean of this Cathedral.

After

After having long survived the rest
 of her family,
 she died Dec. 5, 1775,
 in the 68th year of her age;
 and was here deposited,
 by her own desire,
 near the remains
 of her father and brother.

Also,
 Near this place lieth the remains
 of the Rev. Edward Trimnel,
 Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge,
 brother to the above Mary Trimnel,
 who died March 15, 1736,
 aged 24 years."

Dr. David Trimnell, the Bishop's other brother, born May 20, 1675, is mentioned in the History of Lambeth Palace, (Appendix, p. 22), as Chaplain to Archbishop Wake. He seems to have been in the same office under Dr. Wake, Bishop of Lincoln, as he was possessed of these benefices in the disposal in the Prelates of that see; the rectory of Stoke Hammond, co. Bucks; the prebends of Farendon, 1710, and Easter, 1712, in the church of Lincoln; and the archdeaconry of Leicester, May -, 1715, which was a few months before his Patron's translation to Canterbury; by whom he was presented, in 1718, to the prebend of Kildesley, and also to the precentorship of Lincoln Cathedral, probably an option at the consecration of Bishop Gibson. He published an Affize Sermon, 1714, 8vo; and died in 1756. On a flat stone near Lincoln Cathedral, near the West door, is this inscription:

" Sacred to the memory of
 the Rev. David Trimnell, S. T. P.
 rector of Stoke in Bucks 48 years,
 prebendary of Castor 48 years,
 archdeacon of Leicester 41 years,
 and precentor of this church and
 prebendary of Kildesley 38 years;
 who died May 28, 1756, aged 81 years."

N^o VI. (See vol. I. p. 29.)

Roger Altham, admitted king's scholar at Westminster 1664; elected to Christ Church 1668; and a canon there Nov. 24, 1691. He was ordained priest, March 15, 1684, in St. Peter's church, Cornhill, by Dr. Henry Compton, Bishop of London; who afterwards appointed him one of his domestic chaplains; and gave him the rectory of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, 169..; the prebend of Wellefden, in the Cathedral of St. Paul's, Aug. 30, 1694; and of Wenlock Barnes in 1699. He was instituted to the vicarage of Latton, in Essex, July 1705, on the death of his father Michael Altham*; and collated to the archdeaconry of Middlesex, Feb. 10, 1716-17. He published a Sermon on the election of the Lord-Mayor, 1702; a Concio ad Clerum, 1705; a Sermon preached before the Sons of the Clergy, 1706; one before the House of Commons, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, Jan. 16, 1711-12, being the Fast-day for a General Peace; and one on opening a Church, 1728; and was author also of a tract, called, "Provincial Authority the first external settled Authority in the Church." He died Feb. 28, 1729-30, and was buried in his church at Latton, where his monument, on the South wall of the chancel, is thus inscribed:

"To the memory of
 ROGER ALTHAM, D. D.
 vicar of this Church;
 rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, London,
 prebendary of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul,
 and archdeacon of Middlesex;
 a man truly great and good,
 if we consider
 his comprehensive knowledge, especially in Divinity,
 the affability of his behaviour,
 the sweetness of his conversation,
 the steadiness of his principles,
 and the piety of his life.
 He died Feb. 27, 1729-30, aged 74."

See a Latin epitaph, intended for Dr. Altham, in vol. III. p. 352. A Collection of his Sermons on several occasions, in two volumes, 8vo, appeared, after his death, in 1732.

In the notes concerning Bishop Trimmell it was mentioned to his repute as a Preacher, that one of his Occasional Ser-

* Who was buried at Bishopsgate, March 30, 1704-5, while his son was rector.

mons passed under types thrice in the same year, and it was to the credit of Dean Altham, afterwards Archdeacon of Essex, that his Discourse, Jan. 16, 1711, before the House of Commons, being the *Fast Day* for a General Peace, had speedily a second edition; 1 Peter iii. v. 10, 11, was the *Text*, which concludes with the direction to *seek Peace* and ensure it. And, in pursuance of the wishes and the endeavours of her Majesty's confidential servants, to incline the people to a speedy peace, the Preacher at p. 20, made the following observation; "How honourable soever a just war may be, a long protracted war, though it rests upon never so just a basis, may be well accounted a very severe calamity to a nation."

Mary, a daughter of Dr. Altham, was the wife of Henry Lushington, D. D. and mother to the excellent youth whose merits and disastrous fate are recorded in an excellent inscription in the church of East Bourne, Suffex, and copied in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. LXVIII. p. 1021.

N^o VII.

Lord BOLINGBROKE to the Bishop of ROCHESTER *.

MY LORD,

1714.

TO be removed, was neither matter of surprize nor of concern to me. But the manner of my removal shocked me for at least two minutes.

It is not fit that I should be in town without waiting on the King when he arrives; and it is less proper that I should wait on him, after what has passed, till by my friends some *claircissement* has been had with him. I have writ to the King, and I have spoke with Monsieur Bothmar; and both, I hope, in a way becoming me. On Sunday morning I go home, from whence I shall return as I receive advices from hence.

The satisfaction and the advantage of conversing with your Lordship are so great, that I shall certainly make use of the opportunity of seeing you which you are so kind as to afford me. About eight to-morrow in the evening, I will not fail to be at the Deanry.

I cannot conclude this letter without assuring you, that I am not in the least intimidated from any consideration of the Whig malice and power. But the grief of my soul is this: I see plainly that the Tory party is gone. Those, who broke from us formerly, continue still to act and speak on the same

* From Macpherson's "Original Papers, 1775," vol. II. p. 651.

principles,

principles, and with the same passions. Numbers are still left; and those numbers will be increased by such as have not their expectations answered. But, where are the men of business, that will live and draw together? You, my Lord, know my thoughts as well as you know your own. Nothing shall tempt or fright me from the pursuit of what I know is right for the Church and Nation: but the measures of the pursuit must, I fear, be altered. Till to-morrow, my Lord, adieu. I am, now, then, and ever, your most faithful, obliged servant,

BOLINGBROKE *.

N^o VIII. (See vol. III. p. 411.)

Some farther Particulars of the Duke of WHARTON; in a Letter from Mr. KEEN † to Mr. ROBINSON ‡.

Madrid, April the 26th, 1726.

BY Gordon I sent you an account of the Duke of Wharton's arrival and reception at Madrid, and likewise of his leaving it; which was, as I imagined, but for a few days, though Ripperda would have made a merit of the short absence to Mr. Stanhope. I can now give you, if you think it worth while, the continuation of his story; which is in substance that he has not been sober, or had a pipe out of his mouth, since he came back from his expedition to St. Idlesonse.

On Tuesday last I had some company with me that the Duke of Liria and Wharton wanted to speak with; upon which they came directly into the room. Wharton made his compliments, and placed himself by me. I did not think myself obliged to turn out his star and garter; because, as he is an everlasting talker and tippler, in all probability, he would lavish out something that might be of use to know; at least might discover, by the warmth of his hopes and expectations, whether any scheme was to be put in immediate execution in favour of his dear Master, as he calls the Pretender. He began with telling me, he just then left the Duke de Ripperda, after an audience of an hour and an half and four minutes. The Duke of Ormond was with him; but that circumstance he omitted. I told him, sure it must have been an affair of the greatest importance to his new cause, that could have made Ripperda spare so much of his time, considering the multiplicity of business he

* From this letter, written soon after the Queen's death, the extreme confidence reposed in the Bishop by Lord Bolingbroke is very evident.

† Afterwards Sir Benjamin, whose character wants no panegyric.

‡ From Miscellaneous State Papers, 1778, vol. II. p. 656.

is charged with. At which, says he, you will shortly see the event; it is in my power to make your stocks fall as I think fit; my Master is now in a post-chaise, but the place he designs for I shall not tell you. He complained that Mr. Stanhope had prevented his seeing their Catholic Majesties; but I am very sure he has delivered in some proposals in writing, which are not discouraged; for, on the first of May, his P.'s birthday, both he and the Duke of Liria, amongst a thousand other things they let slip, were fond of drinking a perpetual union of the Saints of the day; whom God has joined, let no man separate. The evening he was with me, he declared himself the Pretender's Prime Minister, and Duke of Wharton and Northumberland. "Hitherto," says he, "my Master's interest has been managed by the Duchesses of Perth and three or four other old women, who meet under the portal of St. Germain's; he wanted a Whig, and a brisk one, to put them in the right train, and I am the man; you may now look upon me Sir Philip Wharton, Knight of the Garter, and Sir Robert Walpole, Knight of the Bath, running a course, and by God he shall be hard pressed; he bought my family pictures, but they will not be long in his possession; that account is still open; neither he, nor King George, shall be six months at ease, as long as I have the honour to serve in the employ I am now in." He mentioned mighty things from Moscow, and talked so much nonsense and contradictions, that it was neither worth my while to remember them, or yours to read them. I used him very *cavalierment*; upon which he was affronted; sword and pistol next day; but, before I slept, a gentleman was sent to desire every thing might be forgot. What a pleasure must it have been to have killed a prime minister!

I must not forget to observe one thing to you; that is, not only he, but several of his party, before he came, whenever the occasion happened, were full of calogiums of my Lord Sunderland, whose death they lament, as a fatal blow to their cause. Upon the whole behaviour of this gentleman, it is easy to observe that some project in their favour was certainly laid at Vienna; but Ripperda must have found himself not able to sustain it, since he was better informed of the true state of Spain, which must have obliged him to lay it aside till a better opportunity offers.

Wharton, Liria, and the young Jacks, are yet fond of it, and, if it depends on them, would now put it in execution; but the graver sort of them are not so confident, nor so much on their mettle. Wharton was telling the Duke of Ormond, that his Master did not love fox-hunting, but that he promised

to go to Newmarket; to which he answered, he saw no great probability of it on a sudden, but wished the Pretender might take such care of his affairs, that he might be able to keep his word. But I think you will see our new Knight strip himself of his new honours before twelve months are passed, if he be thought worth the receiving.

N^o IX. (See vol. IV. p. 103.)

The following satirical letter was published, Oct. 4, 1730, in a periodical paper called "Pasquin"

"SIR,

Brussels, Sept. 20, N. S.

"SINCE my arrival on this side, I have had sufficient leisure to take a calm review of what has passed on yours, as well as to consider the prospect which there is of things for the future; and I assure you, notwithstanding what you know of the heat of my natural temper, I persuade myself that I am become so indifferent to every thing now, that I can look back on what I have suffered without passion, and look forward without pain. Hopes and fears are all over with a banished man, and a man of my years; who, in all probability, must lose the taste of happier fortune, even though (what I do not expect) I should live to see it. If I might advise you, I should recommend the same habit of thinking to yourself; believe me it is not the worse prescription, because it is the last, the only refuge of your unfortunate friend. Let me speak plainly to you: it is impossible our cause should ever succeed, whether we consider the cause itself, the characters of those who have the conduct of it, our own strength, or that of our adversaries; all is wrong and unfortunate. But, you ask, why did I not see this before? Why, perhaps, I was too near the scene to view it well, as others are too far off: I was ambitious and aspiring in my own temper, fired with the flattery of my friends; I was in power and credit; I was popular, vain, and revengeful. But now I find myself with few flatterers and fewer friends abroad, and already forgotten and neglected at home: I am now without the stimulating spirit of our cabals; I see what it was that deceived me, and still deceives you: you catch the delusion from one another, and are amused to your ruin. Did you allow yourselves to grow cool in one month's retirement, you would see and own that your master, sorry am I to speak it, is yet a child, unequal to his great pretensions, weak, irresolute, and ridiculous; his ministers unskilled, confident, factious, and necessitous. What is his party, but the very dirt, the scum, the

the refuse of the people, who go right and wrong by chance, as a humour or word governs them; a rout of cowardly vagabonds, who are never to be found or depended on upon any real or great occasion! And what are the leaders of these, but the proverb, the contempt, even of the rabble that follow them; void both of honour and fortune, without credit and without shame; and who place themselves at the head of the popular cry, not to promote, but betray it; not to serve you, but themselves? In short, you always have been the creature, the tool, to help wretches to preferment; and though you have been ever successively cheated by them, you are insatuated to believe and trust them. But it is time that I should leave this uneasy subject, lest I should disorder myself without convincing you. As to your private affairs——I am

Yours,

MILLINGTON *.

N^o X.

Character of Bishop ATTERBURY; extracted from Mr. COXE's "Memoirs of Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, 1798."

During the ferment of the general election, the plot of which Bishop Atterbury was the head was detected; and, from the mention of it in the King's speech, it became the first object which engaged the attention of the Legislature. On the accession of George the First, he received evident marks of coldness from the new Sovereign; and, on the breaking out of the rebellion, gave an instance of his disaffection, by refusing to sign the Declaration of the Bishops in favour of the Crown †. He uniformly employed his great eloquence in the House of Lords, in opposing the measures of Government, and in drawing up the most violent protests ‡. Atterbury was of a restless, aspiring temper, and eager to obtain the highest honours of the Church; which he would certainly have acquired, had not Queen Anne died. The active part which he had taken during her reign against the succession of the House of Brunswick, and his uniform opposition to the Government of the new Sovereign, precluded him from all expectations of promotion. But, when Sunderland courted the Tories, and made overtures to him as to the leader of the disaffected party, his conduct was so equivocal, that his friends reproached him with having deserted his

* See hereafter, p. 263.

† See vol. II. p. 17.

‡ See vol. V. p. 7.

principles * ; and his enemies did not hesitate asserting that he had engaged in a conspiracy against the Government, because his demand of the Bishoprick of Winchester was rejected. There seems, however, to be no foundation for these reflections † : it is probable that, in listening to the overtures of Sunderland, he conceived hopes that the Minister was inclined to promote the cause of the Pretender, and that Sunderland was duped by him, rather than that he was duped by Sunderland. And, if we may judge from the inflexibility of his character, there is reason to believe that he rejected all offers of promotion, and was never inclined to desert his party.

It appears from Sir Luke Schaub's correspondence from Paris ‡, that the first intimation of the conspiracy in which he was engaged came from the Regent Duke of Orleans ; to whom the agents of the Pretender communicated the plot, in hopes of receiving assistance from him, and that he betrayed them to the King of England.

In consequence of his full conviction of the truth and danger of the conspiracy, Walpole took a very active share in conducting the prosecution. He first mentioned it to the House, when the Bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act was opposed, and a motion made to limit its duration to six months. This motion, being strongly and ably seconded, seemed on the point of being carried ; when Walpole laid before the House some particulars of the conspiracy. He said, " that this wicked design was formed about Christmas last ; that the conspirators had at first made application to some Potentates abroad, for an assistance of 5000 men : that, being denied, they afterwards, about the month of April, made farther application, and earnest instances for 3000 ; that, being again disappointed in their expectations from foreign assistance, they resolved desperately to go on, confiding in their own strength, and fondly depending on the disaffection of England ; and that their first attempt was to have been the seizing of the Bank, the Exchequer, and other places where the public money was lodged : that, although Government had undoubted informations of this plot ever since May last ; no per-

* Mr. Prior, in a letter to Dean Swift, April 25, 1721, says, "*Roffen*. is more than suspected to have given up his party, as Sancho did his subjects, for so much a head, *l'un portant l'autre*. His cause, therefore, which is something originally like that of *Lutrin*, is opposed or neglected by his antient friends, and openly sustained by the Ministry. He cannot be lower, in the opinion of most men, than he is." Swift's Works, ed. 1766, vol. XIX. p. 219.

† See this point fully cleared up, vol. II. p. 4.

‡ Hardwicke Papers.

sions had been apprehended, because, there being then two terms coming on together, they would have had the benefit of the Habeas Corpus Act, and their arrest was deferred till the long vacation." He added, "that the traitorous designs against his Majesty's person and government had been projecting ever since the death of the late Queen; and evident proofs would appear that there had been a meeting of some considerable persons, one of whom was not far off, wherein it had been proposed to proclaim the Pretender at the Royal Exchange; that an exact account of this detestable conspiracy would, in due time, be laid before Parliament." He concluded, by observing, "that although it was true, that the Habeas Corpus Act had never before been suspended for above six months; yet, as the Lords had made this suspension for a whole year, if the Commons should propose any alteration, it might occasion a difference between the two Houses, which, at this time of jealousy and danger, might be attended with bad effects in foreign courts *." Accordingly the Bill was carried, by a majority of 246 against 193.

Bills of pains and penalties having been passed against the inferior agents, Plunket, Kelly, and Laver, that of the Bishop became the object of general attention. In consequence of the Report of the Committee, a Bill was brought into the House of Commons, for subjecting him to banishment and deprivation. On receiving a copy of the Bill, he wrote a letter to the Speaker, requiring to have the assistance of counsel and solicitors in making his defence; which was granted. Having obtained this indulgence, he laid before the House of Lords a petition, stating that, by an order of their House, no Lord might appear by counsel before the House of Commons; that he was under great difficulties how to act; and requesting their directions. It was accordingly moved, "That the Bishop, being a Lord of Parliament, ought not to answer, or make his defence by counsel, or otherwise, in the House of Commons, to a Bill there depending." This motion produced an argument of some length, which was terminated by the observation of the Duke of Wharton, "That the Bishop having already applied to the House of Commons, in a letter to their Speaker, for counsel, it was preposterous now for him to pray the Lords not to give him leave to be heard before the Commons, which was the drift of his petition." And, upon a second question, leave was given for him to be heard by his

* Chandler.

counsel, or otherwise, as he might think proper. Left thus to his own discretion, on the day he was expected to have made his defence, he sent a letter to the Speaker, stating, "that he should decline giving that House any trouble; contenting himself with the opportunity, if the Bill went on, of making his defence before another, of which he had the honour to be a Member." The Bill, having passed the Commons, was sent up to the Lords; and, on the 6th of May, he was brought to the Bar to make his defence. He made a long and artful speech himself*; and his counsel, Sir Constantine Phipps and Mr. Wynne†, displayed great zeal and ability; but the Bill finally passed the Lords, and received the royal assent‡.

The conspiracy in which Atterbury was concerned, and for which he was exiled, has shared the fate of many other plots which have not been carried into execution. It was at the time credited by one party, and disbelieved by the other; and even subsequent writers have, according to their principles, considered it as real or pretended. The public opinion of the Minister is sufficiently known from the active part which he took in discovering and counteracting the conspiracy; and his private opinion is detailed in the following confidential letter which he wrote to his brother Horace, then envoy at the Hague, about three months before Atterbury was arrested:

"All the intercepted letters and correspondences carried on in cant allegories, cyphers, and fictitious names, have hitherto confirmed our other accounts; but of late, it is plain, they suppose we see what they write, that every thing now is wrote on purpose to be read. These letters were directed to several different addressees, and left at several coffee-houses; but we learnt that one Kelly, alias Johnson, called for them all, and distributed them properly; and, when we found that we had no farther use of seeing them, it was resolved to take up Kelly, which was done, and all his papers seized; but, by a most scandalous management, he was suffered to get his sword, which had been taken from him, to drive the messengers out of the room, and burn his papers. You may easily imagine what a noise such a thing makes; and, what makes it more material in these correspondences that passed through Kelly's hand, it was very plain, that the names of Illington and Jones were the Bishop of Rochester, which has now been proved by an incident of a little dog, that was

* See vol. IV. p. 383.

† Ibid. p. 449.

‡ May 27, 1723. See vol. II. p. 258.

sent from France to Mrs. Illington * (before his Lordship's lady died), and was mentioned in some of the most treasonable letters. Upon the examination, it has been confessed that this dog was sent to the Bishop of Rochester, which has at least served to fix the certainty of the names. We are in trace of several things very material; but we fox-hunters know that we do not always find every fox that we cross upon; but I doubt not but this matter will come out so as to shame all gainsayers †."

It would be needless as well as tedious to canvass the principal arguments for or against Bishop Atterbury. It will be sufficient to observe, that the proofs of his guilt, though not derived from positive but from circumstantial and presumptive evidence, were as strong as the nature of the case would admit of; considering the early period at which the plot was discovered, and the great art and talents of the culprit, they were such as to stamp on the impartial mind the most indelible conviction. It was indeed a strong proof of the lenity of Government, that a bill of attainder was not brought in against him, and that he was only punished with deprivation and banishment.

Atterbury received the tribute of applause from the first poets of his time: Swift, Pope, and Gay, have not omitted to pay high encomiums to his talents and learning.

Gay observes, in his Epistle to Pope,

" See Rochester approving nods his head †,

" And ranks one modern with the mighty dead."

Pope, in his Epilogue to the Satires, describes his unshaken firmness and resignation in the hour of prosecution:

" How pleasing Atterbury's softer hour;

" How shines his soul unconquer'd in the Tower."

Pope and Swift kept up a constant correspondence with him during his exile, and always expressed the highest sentiments of veneration and respect for his character. Pope, in particular, almost idolised his banished friend, and was fully convinced of his honour and integrity, and that he was of a mind too noble to be led by the spirit of vengeance to cabal against his country.

How ignorant Pope was of his real character, and how much Atterbury belied his admirable portrait of a good and

* See before, p. 259.

† Coxe's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 221.

‡ "Ev'n mitred Rochester would nod the head," says Pope, in his Epistle to Arbuthnot; the very gesture which Atterbury used when he was pleased. See vol. II. p. 249.

wife man in exile *, neither acting from a principle of resentment, nor impelled by revenge, was proved by his subsequent conduct. He had no sooner landed on the Continent, than he threw himself into the service of the Pretender, and became the principal agent of his affairs, first at Brussels, and afterwards in France.

The advocates of Atterbury have in vain endeavoured to deny or palliate this fact; and to impress a belief that he never attempted to excite a rebellion in England; and that, for the purpose of avoiding solicitations from the Jacobites, he quitted Paris, and went to Montpellier in 1728, where he resided above two years †. But the contrary is proved from the most unquestionable evidence; from his private correspondence with the rebels in Scotland, in 1725, published by Sir David Dalrymple ‡; from the repeated accounts transmitted by Horace Walpole, during his embassy at Paris; from the information of spies, who discovered his cabals, and from the correspondence between him and his son-in-law Mr. Morice. It appears also, from his own account, that he quitted managing the affairs of the Pretender, in 1728, from disgust, and not from principle §.

In fact, Atterbury was of too aspiring a temper to act a secondary part: he expected to have been the principal manager of the cabals in France, and to have been employed in carrying on the correspondence with the disaffected in England. But, on finding that Lord Mar and Dillon were more trusted than himself, he endeavoured to undermine their influence. With this view he entered into cabals with Murray and Hay, whose wife was the Pretender's mistress, and the cause that his consort, the princess Maria Clementina, had retired into a convent, and publicly demanded a separation. Although Atterbury was scandalized at the Pretender's inconsistent conduct, and disgusted with the influence of Hay; yet he meanly condescended to join in intrigues with him and Murray, justified the Pretender, reviled his consort, and predicted that she would repent of her indiscretion when her husband was restored to the throne of his ancestors, which event his sanguine expectation again led him to consider as not far distant. He had no sooner succeeded in destroying the influence of Mar and Dillon, than he became jealous of Hay and Murray, reviled the Pretender, justified his consort, and retired from Paris,

* See vol. II. p. 255.

† Ibid. pp. 416. 421; vol. III. p. 1—00; vol. V. p. 126—142.

‡ See vol. II. p. 285.

§ See vol. II. pp. 406. 408, 409. 411.

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expressing a conviction that the follies and vices of his attainted Sovereign excluded all hopes of effectually serving him*.

During his residence at Montpellier, he affected a love of retirement, and a fondness for the calm pleasures of a country life; but, in the midst of these philosophical reveries, he did not relinquish his cabals for supplanting Hay and Murray; and, after a year's continuance at Montpellier, returned to Paris for the purpose of completing his scheme †.

At this period his conduct was remarkable for duplicity; for, while he seemed absorbed in projects for obtaining the ascendancy in the court of the Pretender, he was looking forwards to England with fond expectations of an act of grace. Soon after his return to Paris, he held frequent conferences in the Bois de Boulogne, with the Duchess of Buckingham, natural daughter of James the Second, for the ostensible purpose of giving her advice concerning the education of her son. The real object of these conferences was not discovered until her arrival at Rome, when she prevailed on her brother to remove Hay and Murray, and invest Atterbury with the principal management of his affairs in France. His sanguine expectations soon led him to anticipate the fall of Sir Robert Walpole, whom he always considered as the greatest support of the reigning family; and whose disgrace, he thought, would be followed by the ascendancy of the Jacobite party in England, and the restoration of the Stuarts ‡.

Notwithstanding his boasted philosophy, Atterbury passed his time in exile in a manner which reflects no credit on the firmness of his mind, or the purity of his principles. The restlessness of his temper, his aspiring ambition, his constant cabals, his anxious desire to return, the narrowness of his income, compared with his former opulence, and the continual defection of his partizans in England, preyed upon a mind like his, fed with hopes which were constantly disappointed, and stung with resentment which could not be gratified. His situation was embittered by the ill conduct of his son, and by the death of his beloved daughter Mrs. Morice, who expired in his arms, and of which sad event he has given a pathetic account in a letter to Pope §. He died at Paris, on the 15th of February 1731, in the 70th year of his age.

One fact, highly honourable to him, ought not to be omitted; he remained, at all times, true to the Protestant religion, and regular in the performance of its duties. He re-

* See vol. V. p. 115.

† See *ret Intelligence from Paris*; Orford and Walpole Papers.

‡ Ibid.

§ See vol. III. p. 75.

probated with warmth the conduct of the Duke of Wharton, Lord North and Grey, and others, who had sacrificed their religion with a view to obtain the Pretender's favour * : he even quarrelled with the Duke of Berwick, who proposed giving a Catholic preceptor to the young Duke of Buckingham; and used his influence over the Dutchess, to place none but Protestants about the person of her son.

A short time before his death, Atterbury was alarmed, lest his papers should fall into the hands of Government, and that their contents should endanger some of his correspondents. Several of the most secret he destroyed; and, with a view to secure the remainder, he applied to the English ambassador, lord Waldegrave, to affix his seal on them, that they might be delivered to his executors †. But Lord Waldegrave declined this delicate exertion of his diplomatic privilege, alledging that Atterbury was not entitled to the rights of a British subject. His motives for this refusal were derived from an unwillingness to place himself in the embarrassing situation of receiving orders from his own Court, to deliver up the confidential deposit of an exile. Atterbury then applied to the French government; but, some difficulties arising, he withdrew his solicitation, and died before he had made an effectual arrangement. On his death, John Semple, a spy in the pay of Government, who lived in habits of intimacy with the Bishop, endeavoured to obtain possession of the papers, for the ostensible purpose of sending them to the Pretender; but the friends of the deceased interposed; the papers were sent to the Scots College, and the seal of office affixed. Morice, his son-in-law and executor, obtained all those which related to family affairs; and the remainder were left in the College. On his return to England, his papers were seized, and Morice was examined before the Privy Council. Several of these documents, with the marks of office, are preserved among the Orford papers; they contain part of the correspondence between the Bishop and his son-in-law, several miscellaneous articles in Atterbury's hand-writing, and some letters from William Shippen, relating to the character of Hampden, in Clarendon's History, which Oldmixon accused Atterbury, Bishop Smalridge, and Dr. Aldrich, of having interpolated, to which accusation the Bishop published a satisfactory answer ‡.

The Bishop's body was conveyed to England, for the purpose of being interred in Westminster Abbey. On its way,

* See vol. II. pp. 330. 415; vol. V. p. 137. † See vol. V. pp. 181. 184.

‡ See vol. III. p. 124; and Mr. Shippen's Letter in vol. V. p. 178.

the hearse was stopped, and his coffin opened; which occasioned a great outcry against the Ministers, as if their vengeance continued to pursue him even after death; but it soon appeared that this indignity proceeded from the Custom-house officers, who had information that a considerable quantity of brocades, and other prohibited goods, was concealed in the coffin. This search being effected, the hearse was suffered to proceed without molestation; and the body, after some difficulty, was buried in Westminster Abbey *.

N° XI.

The Place of the Bishop's Interment.

In a Letter to Mr. Pope †. April 6, 1722, the Bishop says, "I am at this moment building a vault in the Abbey for me and mine. It was to be in the Abbey, because of my relation to the place; but it is at the West door of it, as far from *Kings* and *Kesars* as the space will admit of." To which the Editor's note adds, "This was in the Consistory Court. He had a particular licence for this purpose from the Chapter, as appears from a board still remaining in the Consistory Court, on which is painted an order in 1755, allowing Dr. Wilcocks to make a vault for five or six persons, in like manner as had been granted to Dean Neyle and Dean Atterbury." The Bishop's lady died April 26, 1722; and the inscription by which she and her daughter were commemorated states that the daughter, who died Sept. 29, 1716, was buried in the area, two feet from the door of St. Edmund's ‡ Chapel; and, being removed the 2d of May, 1722, was *deposited here*; that is, according to Dart, vol. II. p. 98, "near the Consistory Court, and under the bay window leading from the Abbey-house into the Church." This inscription, not now to be found in the Abbey, is printed both by Dart and Seymour §; and appears to have been somewhere between the monument of Sir Lumley Robinson and that of Dr. Freind; *near*, but not *within*, the Consistory Court; either on the spot now filled with the monument of Bishop Wilcocks, or on that which is obscured by the much larger one of Admiral Tyrell.

On the subject of these interments the Editor has been favoured with the following ingenious remarks by his learned friend the Rev. Samuel Denne; to whose judgement much deference is certainly due.

* See vol. III. p. 159.

† See vol. II. p. 143.

‡ In vol. II. p. 160, misprinted *St. Edward's*.

§ Survey of London, vol. II. p. 506.

" You seem to think that Bishop Atterbury's remains, and those of his wife and daughter, were deposited in the Consistory Court, an opinion to which I do not accede; having in memory, from hear-say evidence dropped many years ago, that the same Right Reverend Dean of Westminster was interred in the aisle of the Abbey, and, as I imagine, opposite to the part of the South wall where the inscription was fixed commemorative of the Bishop's daughter; and it may be presumed, from Seymour's suggestion, that this was between the monuments of Sir Lumley Robinson and Dr. Freind. As to the consequence drawn from the inscription in the Consistory Court that notices the grants of the Chapter of ground for family vaults to Deans Neyle, Atterbury, and Wilcocks, I question whether it will be brought to bear to the same place. As executor to B. Fidoe, Clerk of the Works, I was four months in possession of a little book, in which that officer had noted the places of burial of very many persons, with innuendoes whether there was room for the interment of more corpses; but I do not recollect the name of Atterbury. After the death of Fidoe, this book was delivered to the Chapter Clerk.—It must be allowed that the Bishop, in his letter to Pope, informs him that the vault he was constructing was *at* the West door of the Abbey. Perhaps *towards* or *not far from* the West door would have been a more accurate expression; and perhaps *at* was used for no better reason, than because the Prelate (though not of a democratic cast) happened not then to be in the good graces of a Court, and was therefore determined to take his last nap *at* the greatest possible distance from a King of the name of George; or at least to intimate to his friend at Twickenham that just then he was out of humour with *Kings* and *Kesars*. When last at Maidstone, I enquired of my brother whether he had any recollection of the place of interment of Bishop Atterbury in Westminster Abbey? The answer was, that he was inclined to believe it might be in that part of the nave opposite to the gallery, or closet, which has a communication with an apartment in the Deanry-house, and is *at* the West end of the South aisle. He also noticed a traditional report, that the Prelate and Mrs. Oldfield slept not far from each other; and in the "Biographical Dictionary," Art. *Oldfield*, it appears that her remains are deposited between the monuments of Mr. Craggs and Mr. Congreve.—In compiling for the History and Antiquities of Rochester the concise Memoir of Atterbury, I was induced to offer a surmise why there was not any inscription over his remains; and it was

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in these words, in p. 191, of the History: "Upon the urn which contained his bowels was inscribed, 'In hac urnâ depositi sunt cineres Francisci Atterbury, Episcopi Roffensis.' But there is no memorial over his grave; nor could there well be any, unless his friends would have consented (which it is most probable they refused to do) that the words implying him to have died Bishop of Rochester should have been omitted on his tomb." It has, however, since occurred to me, that the objection might have been easily parried, by a declaration without specifying any dates:

"Hic jacet Franciscus Atterbury,
per multos annos Episcopus Roffensis,
et Decanus Westmonasteriensis."

N° XII. (See vol. II. p. 361.)

It will not be wholly foreign to the general purport of this collection, if a Letter from Voltaire to Mr. de C——, is here subjoined from his "Temple of Taste, 1734."

"SIR, You saw, and can witness, how this trifle was conceived and executed. It was the amusement of a Society. You had your share in it, as well as others; each of the company furnished his notions: and my part was little more than to reduce them to writing. Mr. De —— said, it was a pity Bayle had swelled his Dictionary with more than two hundred articles of Ministers, and Lutheran or Calvinist Professors; that, in looking for the article of Cæsar, he had met with only that of John Cæsarius, Professor at Boulogne; and that, instead of Scipio, he had found six large pages on Gerard Scioppius. Upon this, it was agreed, by a plurality of voices, to reduce Bayle to one single volume in the Library of the Temple of Taste. You all assured me, you had been sufficiently tired with reading the History of the French Academy; that you interested yourselves very little in the several details of the works of Balesdens, Porcheres, Bardin, Baudouin, Faret, Colletet, Cottin, and other such great men; and I believed you on your words. It was added, that there is no lady at present who does not write better letters than Voiture. It was said, that St. Evremont ought never to have written Verse, and that all his Prose did not deserve to be printed. It is the judgement of the publick; and I, who find all books too long, especially my own, reduce all these volumes to a very few pages. In all this I am but the publick's Secretary. If those, who lose their cause, complain,

plain, they should not address themselves to the person who draws up the decree. I know, the Politicians consider this innocent pleasantry of the Temple of Taste as a serious attempt. They pretend that none but an ill-designing person can advance that the Castle of Versailles has but seven cross windows in front next the court, and maintain that Le Brun, the King's first Painter, was deficient in colouring. The Rigorists say, it is impious to place the Opera Ladies, Lucretius, and the Doctors of the Sorbonne, in the Temple of Taste. Authors whom we never thought of exclaim at the satire, and take it ill that their faults are pointed out, but their beauties passed in silence; an unpardonable crime, which they never will forgive; and they call the Temple of Taste a defamatory libel. They add, that it betrays a malignancy of disposition, never to commend any person without a small *correctif*; and that, in this dangerous work, we never fail to scratch those a little whom we care for. I will reply in two words to this accusation: he who commends every thing, is but a flatterer; he only knows how to praise, who praises with restriction. In short, to range our ideas in order, as is necessary in this enlightened age, I will say, we ought to distinguish a little between a criticism, satire, and a libel. To say, that the Treatise of Studies is a book which is always useful, and that, for this reason, we ought to retrench some pleasantries and vulgar expressions, little agreeable to so serious a work; to say, that the World is a charming and as yet unrivalled performance, and that one is sorry to find in it that the day is a fair, and the night a brown beauty; this is criticism. When Boileau says,

“ ——— Pour trouver un Auteur sans défaut,
La raison dit Virgile, et la rime Quinaut; ”

this is satire, and unjust satire in every sense, saving the respect due to that author: for the rime of *défaut* is not fine enough to require that of *Quinaut*; and it is as little true, to say, that Virgil is without fault, as to say that Quinaut is without genius and without beauty. The couplets of Rousseau, the masque of Levernium, and such horrible stuff; such expressions are what we call a defamatory libel. All good-natured men, who think, are critics; the malignant are satirists; the perverse are libellers; and those who, together with myself, drew up the Temple of Taste, are neither ill-natured nor bad men. In a word, this was our amusement for more than fifteen days. The ideas succeeded each other; every evening we made some alteration; and this produced
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seven or eight Temples of Taste absolutely different. One day we introduced Foreigners; the next we admitted only Frenchmen. The Maffei's, the Pope's, the Bononcini's, have lost many lines hereupon, which need not be regretted. However it was, this piece of pleasantry was not designed to be made public. One of the worst and most incorrect copies of this trifle was printed and published without my knowledge; and it was very unjust in the person, whoever he was, who sent it to the press. Perhaps it may be more wrong still to publish this new edition. We ought not to make the publick the confidant of our amusement. But the folly is committed; and it is one of those cases in which we must necessarily be guilty of a fault. The publick, then, has this little sketch (if it deserves the name) such as it was composed in a Society, which could amuse themselves without gaming, which cultivated the Belles Lettres without a spirit of party, which was fonder of truth than satire, and knew how to praise without flattery. Had the design been to write a Dissertation on Taste, we should have desired the De Cotes and the Baufrances to discourse with us on Architecture, the Coypels to define their art with spirit, the Destouches to inform us what are the beauties of musick, the Crebillons to paint the terror which ought to animate the Theatre. The little each would have said on his own science would have filled a large volume in folio. But we were satisfied with giving the sentiments of the publick in general; and my province was to hold the pen.

I have but a word more to say on our young Nobility, who employ the happy leisure of Peace in cultivating Learning and the Arts; far different, in this, from the august Visigoths their ancestors, who could not even sign their name. If there be yet any, in our polite Nation, such Barbarians, and half-wits, as to disapprove so noble an employ, we may venture to affirm, they would do as much if they had abilities for it. I am persuaded that, when a man does not cultivate a talent, it is because he is not master of it; that every one will make verses who is born a Poet, and compose musick who is born a Musician. All that remains is, to tell the grave critics who allow no amusement to be reputable but Lansquenet and Biribi, that the Courtiers of Lewis XIV. when they returned from the Conquest of Holland in the year 1672, danced on the Theatre of Lulli, in Belleaire's Tennis-court, with the dancers of the Opera *, and that no one pretended to reflect on

* Could they see the employment of their ancestors in 1798! Or had Voltaire been always thus innocently amused!

them for so doing. With more reason then, I think, ought we to pardon our youth for having wit and sense in an age which understood nothing but debauchery.

“Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.”

Each point that author hits aright,
Who mixes profit with delight.

N^o XIII. (See vol. I. pp. 307. 505; vol. III. p. 433.)

Extract from the Letters of Dr. Smalridge to Dr. Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford*.

In Letter I. Dr. Smalridge says, “Mr. Ashmole has been, and still is, my worthy patron. I have received a support from him for many years. When he first intimated to me that he designed this place † for me, I received it coolly, but was checked for it. He designs it as an ease to himself; and therefore, if I should reject it, I forfeit any title to his other favours. I am conscious how little I am qualified for it. But the Chemistry I shall have nothing to do with; and ’twill not be very difficult to get some knowledge of the things in the Museum.” (No date, probably about 1704.)

In Letter X. dated July 3, 1708, he says, “Since you were so kind as to let me know where a letter by this night’s post would find you, I thought it became me to write, though I had nothing worth troubling you with. I guess at the person whom the Dean and President have in their thoughts; but, if I know that person as well as they do, and I should know him a little better, he will thank his friends for the honour they intend him, but will never accept of it. He has an hundred unanswerable objections against it: but there is one worth an hundred, which you yourself suggest, that such a compliment cannot be paid him, without an affront to another person whom he loves and honours, and who is the last man in the world whom he would disoblige. That other person has such an indisputable title to that post, and is in all regards so well qualified for it, that I am not a little surprized, nor a little concerned, to find any other person thought of. I do not know whether it will be in the power of our Friends to fill that post with one of their own side or not; but if it should, and one who has served them so

* From the Seventh Volume of Ballard’s Collection of Letters in the Bodleian Library.

† Qu. the Keepership of the Ashmole Museum.

faithfully,

faithfully, and has suffered so much in their service, to whom they owe all the powers they have, and who has so heartily struggled for their having more interest and influence than they yet have . . . ,” &c.—[On the back of this Letter, in Dr. Charlett’s hand, is “About Dr. Atterbury being worthy of the Chair, and the character given of him.”]

Letter XII. “DEAR SIR, *Chichester, Aug. 21, 1708.*

I received the favour of yours by the last post, wherein you desire to let me know, whether I ever said to Mr. Gibson, ‘That Dr. Atterbury came to Lambeth, and offered himself to come into our measures, but was rejected;’ to which I take the first opportunity to return this plain answer, that I never did say so, either to Mr. Gibson, or any man living. I might say, that, some years since, there was a private proposal from a person of note, to make matters more easy and quiet in Convocation; and that mention was made of Dr. Atterbury as a person that might be very instrumental in it, and of his coming to Lambeth as the first step towards it. All this, to my knowledge, is true; that is, that such a proposal was then made; but that it was made by Dr. Atterbury, much less that he came to Lambeth as the first step towards it, or that he was at all privy to it, I never did say. By this post I write to Mr. Gibson, to let him know, that this is what I said to him; and that, if he mistook, and hath reported it otherwise, it is an injury both to Dr. Atterbury and me; and he ought, in justice to both, to undeceive as many as he has misled.”

[Here the letter breaks off abruptly; but it is marked by Dr. Charlett on the back as Bp. Smalridge’s. It is, in some degree, explained by the following paper, in the hand-writing of Mr. Thwaites the Saxonist, which is pasted at the back:

“SIR, Mr. Gibson, of our College, was with the Doctor at Lambeth. He bid him say, that Dr. Atterbury came to Lambeth, and offered himself to come into their measures, but was rejected about a year ago.

Queen’s College, Nov. 27, 1707.”]

Letter XVI. contains the following character of Sir Simon Harcourt’s * speech at Dr. Sacheverell’s Trial.

“We had yesterday the noblest entertainment that ever audience had, from your friend Sir Simon Harcourt: He spoke with such exactness, such force, such decency, such dexterity, so neat a way of commending and reflecting as he had occasion; such an insinuation into the passions of his auditors as I never heard. I will not pretend to say one word, for I am sure I could say nothing without spoiling it; I will only observe to

* See vol. II. p. 476; vol. IV. p. 258.

you, that throughout his whole discourse he spoke with approbation of the Revolution, allowed it to be an excepted case, and defended his client upon this ground, that he had asserted the utter illegality of resistances without excepting any cases; and proved, from authority human and divine, from our municipal laws, from our Homilies, from the testimonies of the Fathers and Writers of our Church, from irrefragable reasons, that it was lawful for a Preacher, that it was his duty, to lay down the general rules of Non-resistance without making any exceptions, which was very different from affirming it admitted of no exceptions. His Speech was universally applauded by enemies as well as friends, and his reputation for a speaker is fixed for ever. But then the mischief was this, it was his *vox cygnea*; for he is returned, and we heard him not to-day, and shall hear him no more. He was very ill on Thursday night, and it is said very weak when he spoke; but that did not appear from any thing he said, or from the manner of his speaking. His speech you will see in publick; but you will not be able to conceive half the pleasure from reading, as we did from hearing it."

The following Epitaph on Lilly the Astrologer was written by Dr. Smalridge, whilst a scholar at Westminster school:

"Occidit, atque suis annalibus addidit atram
Astrologus, quâ non tristior ulla, diem.
Pone triumphales, lugubris Luna, quadrigas;
Sol, mœstum piceâ nube reconde caput.
Illum, qui Phœbi scripsit Phœbesque labores,
Eclipsin docuit Stella maligna pati.
Invidia Astrorum cecidit, qui Sidera rexit,
Tanta erat in notas scandere cura domos:
Quod vidit, visum cupiit, potiturque cupito
Cœlo, & Sidereo fulget in orbe decus.
Scilicet hoc nobis prædixit ab ane Cometa,
Et fati emicuit nuncia Stella tui.
Fallentem vidi faciem, gemuique videndo;
Illa fuit vati mortis imago suo,
Civilis timuere alii primordia belli,
Jejunam metuit plebs stupefacta famem;
Non tantos tulerat bellumve famese dolores:
Auspicis essent hæc relevanda tuis.
Incautam subitus plebem nunc opprimat ensis,
Securos fati mors violenta trahat.
Nemo est qui videat moneatque avertere fatum,
Ars jacet in Domini funera merfa sui.

Solus Naturæ reservare arcana solebat,
 Solus & ambigui solvere jura poti.
 Lustrâsti errantes benè fidâ mente Planetas,
 Conspectum latuit stellata nulla tuum.
 Defessos oculos pensârunt lumina mentis
 Tiresias oculis, mentibus Argus eras.
 Cernere, Tiresia, poteras ventura; sed, Arge,
 In fatum haud poteras sat vigil esse tuum.
 Sed vivit nomen, semper cum sole vigebit:
 Immemor Astrologi non erit ulla dies.
 Sæc'la canent laudes, quas si percurrere cones,
 Arte opus est Stellas quâ numerare soles.
 Hæreat hoc carmen cinerum custodibus urnis,
 Hospes quod spargens marmora rore legat.
 "Hic situs est dignus nunquam cecidisse Propheta;
 "Fatorum interpretes fata inopina subit.
 "Versari æthereo, dum vixit, in orbe solebat:
 "Nunc humilem jactat Terra superba virum.
 "Sed Cælum metitur adhuc resupinus in urnâ,
 "Vertitur in solitos palpebra clausa polos.
 "Huic busto invigilant solenni lampade Musæ,
 "Perpetuo nubes imbre sepulchra rigant.
 "Ille oculis movit distantia Sidera nostris,
 "Illam amota oculis traxit ad astra Deus."

The following lines in English were also by Smalridge :

Our Prophet's gone ; no longer may our ears
 Be charm'd with musick of th' harmonious spheres.
 Let Sun and Moon withdraw, leave gloomy Night
 To shew their Nuncio's fate, who gave more light
 To th' erring World, than all the feeble rays
 Of Sun or Moon ; taught us to know those days
 Bright Titan makes, follow'd the hasty Sun
 Through all his circuits, knew th' inconstant Moon,
 And more inconstant ebbings of the flood ;
 And, what is most uncertain, th' factious brood,
 Flowing in civil broils ; by the Heavens could date
 The flux and reflux of our dubious state.
 He saw the eclipse of Sun, and change of Moon
 He saw, but seeing would not shun his own :
 Eclips'd he was, that he might shine more bright,
 And only chang'd to give a fuller light.
 He, having view'd the sky, and glorious train
 Of gilded Stars, scorn'd longer to remain
 In earthly prisons. Could he a Village love,
 Whom the Twelve Houses waited for above ?

The grateful Stars a heavenly mansion gave
 T' his heavenly soul; nor could he live a slave
 To mortal passions, whose immortal mind,
 Whilst here on earth, was not to earth confin'd.
 He must be gone, the Stars had so decreed:
 As he of them, so they of him, had need.
 This message 'twas the blazing Comet brought;
 I saw the pale-fac'd Star, and seeing thought
 (For we could guess, but only Lilly knew)
 It did some glorious Hero's fall foreshew:
 A Hero's fall'n, whose death, more than a war,
 Or fire, deserv'd a Comet; th' obsequious Star
 Could do no less than his sad fate unfold,
 Who had their risings and their settings told.
 Some thought a plague, and some a famine near;
 Some wars from France, some fires at home did fear:
 Nor did they fear too much; scarce kinder fate,
 But plague of plagues befell th' unhappy State
 When Lilly died. Now swords may safely come
 From France or Rome, Fanaticks plot at home.
 Now an unseen and unexpected hand,
 By guidance of ill stars, may hurt our land;
 Unsafe, because secure, there's none to show
 How England may avert the fatal blow.
 He's dead, whose death the weeping clouds deplore;
 I wish we did not owe to him that shower,
 Which long expected was, and might have still
 Expected been, had not our Nation's ill
 Drawn from the Heavens a sympathetic fear,
 England hath cause a second drought to fear.
 We have no second Lilly, who may die,
 And by his death may make the Heavens cry.
 Then let your annals, Coley, want this day,
 Think every year Leap-year; or, if 't must stay,
 Cloath it in black, let a sad note stand by,
 And stigmatize it to Posterity."

It has been mentioned in vol. I. p. 300, that Dr. Smalridge was once minister of the New Chapel in Tothill-fields. Newcourt, vol. I. p. 293, adds, "that he was elected, by the vestry, Jan. 12, 1698; and from that time officiated as minister there, and received all the profits of pews, &c. He was afterwards nominated by Edmond Pye, Esq. heir of Sir Robert Pye, by an instrument, dated March 21, 1701. I am credibly informed, that madam Pye, widow, relict of the said Edmond Pye, Esq. desirous that, for the honour of God, and benefit of the inhabitants near the said New Church or Chapel,

divine

divine service should be celebrated therein every morning and evening, hath been pleased to allow 50l. a year."

No single Sermons of Dr. Smalridge are mentioned in Cooke's Historical Register, though several were preached by him on public occasions*. Twelve were published, in one volume, 8vo. 1717; and Sixty, after his death, in a folio volume, (to which the subscribers were unusually numerous,) 1724; with his portrait, engraved by Vertue, from a painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Dr. Rawlinson has chronicled eleven of his single Sermons, with "Orationes duæ in Theatro Sheldoniano †;" and says, he is mentioned in the "Historical Memoirs of Dr. Clarke (Samuel) second edit. Lond. 1730, 8vo, at pages 15, 25, 41, 45, 76, 77, 91, 106, 107; a letter to Mr. Whiston, dated 28 Nov. 1711; and page 109.—The Doctor has also preserved the following notes concerning him.

"Admiss. dec. Carleol. 3 Nov. & install. per procurat. 29 Nov. 1711, ad Ædem Christi Oxon. Julii, . . . 1713, et consecrat. Ep. Bristol, April 4, 1714; obiit 27 Sept. 1719. Ordinatus diac. Cap. Coll. Magd. 1689, ab Ironside."

The following account of the Bishop's death is from Ballard's collection of MS Letters, vol. IX. p. 79.

"WORTHY MASTER, *Christ Church, Sept. 28, 1719:*

I send this to acquaint you that our Dean, the Bishop of Bristol, died yesterday morning, to the great grief of all who knew him. He was abroad all Saturday, and had a pain cross his breast by fits most part of the day, but without any great violence. He was at Latin prayers at nine of the night, and there found his pain increase. As soon as he got home, he sent for Dr. Frewin, who ordered him to be immediately let blood, which was accordingly done. After this, he found himself pretty easy, and went to bed, and slept as well as usual. He waked in the morning, and asked his Lady what o'clock it was, who said it was six; upon which he said, *God be thanked! I have had a good night.* He then turned on his side, and immediately died without a groan, or a word more. Thus expired that worthy prelate. This is a melancholy piece of news, but I suppose so just and minute an account of it will be accepted from your affectionate humble servant,

"To the Rev. Dr. Charlett." ROBERT CLAVERING.

* Before the Court of Aldermen, Jan. 30, 1702-3; before the Queen, Nov. 5, 1707; Two Spital Sermons, 1708, 1713; before the House of Commons, Jan. 30, 1709-10; at the Anniversary Meeting of the Trustees of the Charity Schools, June 1, 1710; Farewell at St. Dunstan's, 1711; at Kingston Assizes, 1711-12; before the House of Peers, May 29, 1716, &c. &c.

† See these in vol. III. p. 443.

N^o XV.

Substance of the ADVERTISEMENTS prefixed to the former Edition of the present Collection.

VOLUMES I. and II. 1783.

The Editor of these Volumes acknowledges that, with a zealous admiration of the fine talents of Bishop ATTERBURY, he once entertained some degree of prejudice against him, which he since discovers to have been ill-founded; and apprehends, from several authenticated pieces here offered to the publick, that the Bishop's character will appear to have been misrepresented and injured.

Belles Lettres, however, and not Politics, are the immediate object of this publication; which the reader will easily believe, when he is assured that it originated from having purchased at the sale of the Hon. Topham Beauclerk's library the pathetic narrative of the last illness and death of Mrs. Morice. In consequence of this acquisition, Nathanael Chauncey, esq; (a gentleman to whom the Editor is the more obliged as he was totally unknown to him) very kindly contributed some original letters to Mr. Williams, which had many years since accidentally fallen into his possession; and which, having been principally written about the same period with those printed by Lord Hailes * in a quarto pamphlet at Edinburgh, 1768, *that* pamphlet was procured; and the number of letters, augmented by a few addressed to Dean Moss, which were bought at Northampton in a collection of Dr. Zachary Grey's MSS. seemed sufficiently considerable to form a volume.

The Editor, however, did not think it adviseable to print them, till he could obtain every possible information towards illustrating the life and character of a Prelate of such distinguished eminence. That admirable repository of literary treasures, *The British Museum*, he found, contained some original letters of Bishop Atterbury, which Dr. Birch (had his life been spared) intended to have published. These, by the permission of the Honourable Curators, he transcribed; and has since enlarged the number from single letters dispersed in a variety of publications. He is not ashamed to own that he ob-

* Who was in possession of more of Bp. Atterbury's Letters.

tained some curious articles from the perishing volumes of Curll*.

When the present work was so forward as to be publicly announced, a delay in the printing of it was occasioned by farther communications from various friends of the Editor (and, he is proud to add, of the Bishop's near Relations) which have more than doubled his store of original matter; and by this means the publick have a volume added, which they will have no cause to regret. The correspondence of Atterbury with the Lords Orrery and Stanhope, with Swift and Prior, and his pamphlet on the Test Act, are now for the first time printed; with Four admirable Visitation Charges, of which that to the diocese of Rochester, in particular, is of such uncommon excellence, that it would alone have been sufficient to have established our Author's reputation as a Writer and Divine.

His memorable Speech in the House of Lords may also be said to be now first faithfully published, as the slightest comparison with that erroneously printed in the "State Trials" will evidently shew. This Speech the Bishop opens with great sensibility, by complaining of the uncommon severity he had experienced in the Tower; which was carried so far, that even his son-in-law, Mr. Morice, was not permitted to speak to him in any nearer mode than standing in an area, whilst the Bishop looked out of a two pair of stairs window. His confinement was extremely rigorous†. Nor did the severity of his treatment cease even with his banishment. The same vindictive spirit pursued him in foreign climes. No British subject was even permitted to visit him without the King's sign manual; which Mr. Morice was always obliged to solicit, not only for himself, but for every one of his family whom he carried abroad with him, for which the fees of office were very high.

When Bishop Atterbury first entered upon his banishment, Brussels was the place destined for his residence; but, by the arts and instigations of the British ministers, he was com-

* The memory of Edmund Curll has been transmitted to posterity with an obloquy he little deserved. Whatever were his demerits as a Bookseller, they were amply atoned for by his indefatigable industry in preserving our National Remains. Nor did he publish a single volume, but what, amidst a profusion of baser metal, contained some precious ore, some valuable reliques, which future collectors could no where else have found.

† The fine North window in the Abbey (still called Bishop Atterbury's window) having been placed there but a few days before he left the kingdom; he expressed an earnest wish to be permitted to walk through the church, and particularly to see the window; but was refused that indulgence.

pelled to leave that place, and retire to Paris. There being solicited by the friends of the Pretender to enter into their negotiations, which he carefully avoided; that he might be the more out of their reach, he changed his abode for Montpellier in 1728, and resided there about two years. How far the Bishop might have been attached in his inclinations to the Stuart family, to which he might be led by early prejudices of education, and the divided opinions of the times, is not necessary here to enquire. But that he should be weak enough to engage in a plot so inconsistent with his station, and so clumsily devised (to say the least of it, and without entering into his solemn asseverations of innocence) is utterly inconsistent with that cunning which his enemies allowed him. The Duke of Wharton, it is well known, was violent against him, till convinced by his unanswerable reasoning.

It has been said, that his wishes reached not to the Bishoprick of London merely, but even to York or Canterbury. Yet those who were better acquainted with his views knew that Winchester would have been much more desirable to him than either of the others. And there are those now living, who have been told, from respectable authority, that that Bishoprick was offered to him whenever it should become vacant (and, till that event should happen, a pension of 5000*l.* a year, besides an ample provision for Mr. Morice) if he would cease to give the opposition he did to Sir Robert Walpole's administration, by his Speeches and Protests in the House of Lords. When that offer was rejected by the Bishop, then the contrivance for his ruin was determined on.

In his Speech in the House of Lords (see vol. IV. p. 157.) the Bishop mentions his being "engaged in a correspondence with two learned men [Bp. Potter and Dr. Wall] on settling the times of writing the Four Gospels." Part of this correspondence the Editor has seen; and is in hopes of obtaining permission to publish it*. The same subject the Bishop pursued during his exile, having consulted the Learned of all Nations, and had nearly brought the whole to a conclusion when he died. These laudable labours are an ample confutation of Bp. Newton's assertion, that Atterbury "wrote little, whilst in exile, but a few criticisms on French authors†."

When his body was brought over to be buried in Westminster abbey, it was accompanied with his MSS. which underwent a strict examination. The Bishop's papers, it appears, were actually seized‡; but, as no literary work of his is now to be

* This was afterwards obtained; see vol. II. pp. 169, & seqq.

† See vol. II. p. 246,

‡ See this in vol. III. p. 155.

found in the State Paper office, this valuable treasure (it is feared) is irrecoverably lost.

Thus far the Editor has given an unvarnished narrative of the means by which this publication has been prepared. It would have been more methodical, but that his materials have accumulated as they were passing through his hands. And he is now happy to announce, that the immediate descendant of Atterbury's first and greatest patron (heir to his great-grandfather's virtues and liberality, as well as to his title and profession) has within these few days very politely communicated so large a stock of valuable unpublished letters to Bishop Trelawny, that, not finding it possible to make room for them but in a separate publication, he no longer withholds the present Volumes from the world, not doubting but they will meet with a favourable reception.

J. N.

ADVERTISEMENT to VOLUME III; 1784.

THE Two former Volumes of this Collection have been so favourably received, that the Editor has not the least hesitation in offering to the Publick a Third, consisting almost entirely of Letters now first printed from the Bishop's own handwriting. What has been well observed by an ingenious Critic on a former occasion may with still greater force be applied to the Letters now under consideration. "The literary fame of Dr. Atterbury," says the Writer alluded to, "and what in the course of Providence he was called to act, and to suffer, excite in his countrymen a curiosity to know all the productions of his genius and the transactions of his life." And whilst in the following pages "we recognise those High Church and Monarchical principles which distinguished the Bishop of Rochester; we discover at the same time that purity of style, that elegance of taste, that correctness of judgment, and extent of polite erudition, which drew praise and admiration from Addison, Prior, Pope, Arbuthnot, and Swift. Even in the minutest trifles, in the most familiar epistles, and on the humblest topics, we discover an air and manner which bespeak the man of taste and dignity*."

For the letters to Bp. Trelawny †, which form by much the largest part of the volume, the Editor is indebted to the present reverend and worthy Baronet of that name. The others have been communicated by various friends. The admirable letter to Lord Inverness, in particular, which was not received till

* Dr. Thompson, in the "English Review."

† The original of these in general have not the date of the year; a defect, however, for the greater part supplied by the attention of Bishop Trelawny, who dated most of them on the outside,

the end of the Volume was printing off, is transmitted by a gentleman of high respectability : and the correspondence with Bishop Potter, Dr. Wall, and Mr. Strype, are faithfully copied from the originals.

The curious particulars respecting his preferment and continuance at Bridewell Hospital are satisfactorily authenticated by the polite attention of the Rev. Mr. Bowen, the present worthy Reader, at that Hospital ; as are those relating to St. Bride's by my worthy relation, the Rev. John Pridden. J. N.

ADVERTISEMENT to VOLUME IV ; 1787.

AN earnest inclination to do honour to the memory of Bishop Atterbury is the principal motive for the present publication. The Third Volume arose entirely from the spontaneous communications of a worthy Baronet. The Fourth comes from sources of equal authenticity, and contains much that is both new and interesting.

For CIII original Letters, I am indebted to the liberality of the Bishop's grandson, Dr. Francis Atterbury, Precentor in the cathedral of Cloyne, and rector of Clonmel, or the Great Islands, in that diocese.

Thirty-three new Letters are an additional proof of the very obliging attention of the Reverend Sir Henry Trelawny, Bart. who politely transmitted the originals, which had been preserved among his family papers.

Three more are also printed from the originals, purchased in a large collection of Letters to Dr. Busby, and since deposited in the British Museum. And six were kindly transcribed, by the Rev. Mr. Agutter, of Magdalen College, Oxford, from the originals in the Bodleian Library ; where they form part of a valuable collection of Letters to Dr. Charlett, consisting of Forty Volumes ; whence there is reason to hope, from the well-known taste of Mr. Agutter, that a judicious selection will at no very distant period be presented to the publick *. The original of one Letter is in the collection of Mr. Gough ; another was furnished by Mr. Ashby ; and six more are taken from printed books.

For the Notes an apology is the less necessary, as the indulgence of the publick has convinced me that this species of information is in general acceptable ; and that, whenever an Editor endeavour to the best of his abilities to illustrate what he is publishing, he is sure to meet with somewhat more than pardon from his Readers.

J. N.

* The Literary World may regret that this hope has not been realized.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

VOLUME I.

P. 5. On the 20th of October, 1687, Bp. Trelawny deputed Thomas Kelly and John Anstis, gent. to be two admeasurers of the South parts of Cornwall. (From the original deed, in the possession of Dr. Ducarel, *Chartæ Antiquæ*, N^o 39.)

P. 6. l. 12. read "whether."

P. 12. l. 1. after "James Harrington," add, "or perhaps George Smalridge (see p. 24.)"

P. 15. An anonymous Critic * observes, and with truth, that, in Atterbury's early Letters, some words are unclassically placed and disposed; and that his Letters on the Quakers' Bill about oaths display much more zeal than candour, and great illiberality both of sentiment and expression.

P. 16. There cannot be a stronger proof of Atterbury's restless and ambitious temper than is exhibited in this Letter to his father. DR. WARTON.

P. 29. note, l. 2. for "removed," read "elected."

P. 31. "Plutarch is so extremely dull," &c.] When great wits jump, little ones may join. It seems as if Mr. Boyle and M. de Voltaire had the same sentiments with respect to Plutarch. And yet, if we do not mistake, the present eminent Mr. Knox of Tunbridge highly recommends him †.

P. 53. add this note: "The Rev. Dr. Atterbury is appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cathedral this day, it being the anniversary of the Restoration of King Charles II. and the Royal Family; where the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, will be present." Protestant Mercury, May 29, 1700.

P. 58. and p. 67. Letter XXXVII. should have preceded Letter XXXIII.

P. 65. Dr. Hody was also Rector of St. Dunstan's church at Monks Risborough, Bucks. He founded ten exhibitions of 10l. a year each; four for the study of the Hebrew tongue, and six for the study of the Greek; and was buried in the chapel of Wadham College; where a large black gravestone is thus inscribed;

" Hic jacet
Humfredus Hody, S. T. P.
Græcæ linguæ Professor Regius,
Archidiaconus Oxon.

* See Gent. Mag vol. LIV. p. 332.

† Ibid.
Reverendissimis

Reverendissimis Dominis
D. Joanni Tillotson & D. Thomæ Tenison
à Sacris Domesticis,
& hujus Collegii quondam Socius:
Qui obiit Jan. 20, A. D. 1706.
Edith Uxor obiit Nov. 28, 1736."

Arms: Argent, a fess per fess, indented Vert and Or, cotised of the last; impaling a pale Lozengy

A portrait of him is, among the other Benefactors to Wadham College, in the Warden's lodgings. Gutch, p. 608.

P. 85. notes, l. 4. add, "See vol. IV. p. 297."

Ibid. l. 11. read "Long-Harborough."

P. 91. l. 13. add, Dr. Finch's Sermon was afterwards printed.

Ibid. l. 14. read "the 16th of August."

P. 98. Of the affair of Lord Bellamont and Kid, who, being employed by his Lordship to suppress pirates, turned pirate himself, see Lodge's Irish Peerage, I. 390, 2.

P. 112. l. 12. read "Newey."

P. 127. Dr. Edwards gave to Jesus College, in his lifetime, several MSS. and printed books; and bequeathed at his death, 1702, his library of 1000 books more. Gutch, p. 583.

P. 158. note, l. 1. read "See p. 163."

P. 160. Dr. Nicholas Only, Minister of St. Margaret's, and a Prebendary of Westminster (which last he enjoyed more than 50 years), died Sept. 28, 1724, in his 84th year.

P. 190. note, l. 2. read "Stratford."

P. 193. l. ult. Dr. South died July 8.

P. 227. "See p. 65; and Illustrations, N° XIV."

P. 230. Dr. Moore was rector of St. Botolph, *Aldgate*.

P. 241. The majority of our Author's correspondence with Bishop Trelawny, it has been observed, is the strongest picture that can be drawn of the spirit of Dr. Atterbury. Transported by a warmth and conscious pride of temper, we see him the soul of an expiring Convocation, which he in vain attempted to rally and reanimate. Happily for these kingdoms, his efforts were baffled—by men of more moderate temper than his own. For what war can be worse grounded, or more dangerous, than a war of Religion? Not all the blood shed in the Crusades could expiate the wounds inflicted on Christian Charity by such a war of tongues and opinions. Suspicious of shadows, mistakenly tender of his character, and invincibly tenacious of his conduct; such is his character of himself. Whiggism was as much *his* bugbear as Toryism has lately been in America. Malevolent to Burnet

as tender to Blackburne, and to both with equal cause, he throws the same imputation on one, which would not lie, as he endeavours to wipe off from the other, where it was notorious*.

P. 244. l. 12. for "matter," read "malice."

P. 248. St. Evremond's epitaph was written by Garth. So says Dr. Atterbury, vol. I. p. 317; where see the epitaph.

P. 273. After "letters," add, "pp. 60. 71. 73. 75. 76. 87. 103. 107. 206, &c."

P. 279. l. 15. Dr. Hooper was then Bishop of St. Asaph.

P. 301. add to the note, See the eighth sermon in his first volume, "On her Majesty's Accession."

P. 303. l. 9. add this note: "Dr. Atterbury was now a canon residentiary of Exeter; see p. 308."

P. 306. Canon Gilbert must have been John Gilbert, dean of Exeter 17... , canon of Christ Church, bishop of Landaff 1740, of Sarum 1748, archbishop of York 1757, where he died Aug. 9, 1761; stigmatized as "*leaden*," by Pope.

P. 308. note, l. 10, read "canon of Exeter."

P. 313. Charles Trelawny, Esq. and Elizabeth Mitchell, were married at St. Bride's, London, June 25, 1699.

Major General Charles Trelawny, of Hunger, near Camelford, died Sept. 24, 1731, worth nearly 40,000l. the bulk of which he left to his nephew Edward.

P. 317. l. 30. after "scriptores," add "semper memorando."

P. 320. William Breach, M. D. student of Christ Church, died March 20, 1707-8.

P. 327. William Graham, M. D. was son of Sir George Graham of Netherby, and younger brother of Richard, Lord Viscount Preston. He was educated at Christ-Church, Oxford, where he took the degree of M. A. March 11, 1680, and was diplomated D. D. June 11, 1686: was chaplain in ordinary to the Princess Anne of Denmark: installed in the first prebend at Durham, Aug. 16, 1684; collated to the rectory of Whickham, and inducted therein August 10, 1685: installed Dean of Carlisle, June 23, 1686, and of Wells, July 28, 1704; died Feb. 5, 1711, and was buried at Kensington†.

P. 385. "I lose no conversation by being deaf in this place [Lichfield], which is just as well stocked with good manners and polite conversation, as your friend Dr. Wake is with deep learning, solid sense, and the knack of writing intelligible English!" Is this remark a sneer, or what is it?

* See farther on this subject in Gent. Mag. vol. LIV. p. 220.

† Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. II. p. 229.—Hutchinson's Durham, II. 173.

I thought Abp. Wake had always been esteemed a man of learning and good sense, only mixed with a little of the Boeotian vivacity. Indeed, towards his latter end he seems to have grown a little *comatose*, or he would never have given the great living of W—— to an old presbyterian apothecary who at fourscore, by his own confession, was a glutton*.

P. 389. "I am of opinion, that, should that wise man your Abp. of Canterbury see one rise from the dead, he would, in a day or two afterwards, impute it to nothing but a dream, or, it may be, to the indigested fumes that arose from his eating too many black puddings over-night." Did Abp. Tenison merit this very coarse insinuation from any one, and especially from a Nobleman [Lord Stanhope], who seems to have instilled into his son so much of the tincture of the Graces †?

P. 391. Robert Feilding, esq; commonly known by the name of "Beau Feilding," a handsome and very comely gentleman, much distinguished in the annals of gallantry at that time, was tried for felony at the Old-Bailey, Dec. 4, 1706. He had married, as the indictment holds forth, Nov. 25, 1705, the most noble Barbara Dutchess of Cleveland ‡, having a former wife then living. In the course of the evidence on this trial, it appeared, that sixteen days before, viz. Nov. 9, 1705, Mrs. Villars, a very bad woman, had artfully drawn him into a marriage with one Mary Wadsworth, spinster, on the mistaken belief of her being Mrs. Deleau, a widow, with a fortune of £.60,000. His marriage with the Dutchess was therefore set aside, and her Grace was allowed the liberty of marrying again. He craved the benefit of his clergy; and when sentence was given, that "he should be burnt in his hand," produced the Queen's warrant to suspend execution, and was admitted to bail. Trial of Robert Feilding, Esq; &c. folio. Lond. 1708, *passim*. Feilding, having injured his fortune by his gallantry and extravagance in early life, repaired the breaches he had made in it, by his first marriage with the viscountess Purbeck §, a widow lady of an antient family in Ireland, who had a large fortune

* Gent. Mag. vol. LIV. p. 332.

† Ibid.

‡ The Dutchess had a pension for life of 4700l. out of the Post-office.

§ John Villiers, elder brother of the Duke of Buckingham, was created Baron of Stoke and Viscount Purbeck, 17 James I. These English honours became extinct 2 Charles II. when his son Robert, the second Viscount, (whose relict this lady seems to have been), died without issue. The "Lord Purbeck" is mentioned by the Earl of Arran as a relation of the Duke of Buckingham, in an affecting account of that unhappy great man's death, in Gent. Mag. vol. LVI. p. 203.

of her own, to which she had added considerably by a former marriage; she was the only daughter and heiress of Barnham Swift Lord Carlingford, who was of the same family with the Dean of St. Patrick's. Feilding is said to have lived happily for some years with this lady, who was a zealous Roman Catholic, and could have no great difficulty in inducing a man who had no religion to profess himself a profelyte to her religious persuasion. He embarked in the fortunes of King James II. who gave him the brevet of Colonel, and for whom he raised a regiment in his native county of Warwick. He followed the King into France, and is said to have carried with him about £4000. with which sum, and the remittances he had from the Viscountess while she lived, he was enabled to make a more considerable figure than most in his Majesty's retinue. The mock-king probably raised him to the mock-rank of a Major-general, for so he is frequently styled in the Trial before-mentioned. He seems also to have had, or affected the title of Count, for he calls his wife Mary Wadsworth, upon the supposition of her being Mrs. Delau, Anne Countess of Feilding. See "The Trial, &c." *passim*.

P. 394. note, l. 2. for "Carlisle," read "Exeter."

P. 396. Mrs. Astell was the author of "Bartholomew Fair, or an Enquiry after Wit," which has usually been ascribed to Dr. Wotton. This is asserted on the authority of a presentation-copy of the second edition of it, 1722, now in the library of James Bindley, Esq. It must be acknowledged that Mr. Ballard (who, in his Memoirs of Learned Ladies, has given a particular account of Mrs. Astell and her writings,) has taken no notice of this tract. But it can hardly be doubted that it was written by her, as in the copy abovementioned, which is directed "To the Lady Blount, Dec. 17, 1724," that lady has written, "Given me by Mrs. Astell, the author of this and several books, pamphlets, and papers, which I have also. In the second edition the words *Bartholomew Fair* were left out of the title-page." See the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 529. Mrs. Astell is also supposed, in a MS. collection of letters formed by Mr. Ballard, (II. 57.) to have been the author of "An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex." In the same collection (II. 66.) is an account of her death.

P. 400. The procession to St. Paul's * was frequently repeated during the reign of Queen Anne:—Nov. 12, 1703, on the success of the troops under the command of the Duke of Marlborough; of the forces under the Duke of Ormond at

* Queen Elizabeth attended there, on the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in 1588.
Vigo;

Vigo; and of the fleet under the command of Sir George Rook (the sermon preached by Dr. Trelawny, Bishop of Exeter).—Sept. 7, 1704, on a mighty victory at land, by the Duke of Marlborough, against the French and Bavarians, in Germany.—Aug. 23, 1705, on the Duke's forcing the French lines in Flanders, and afterwards fighting and beating them within those lines.—June 26, 1706, for a third great victory at Ramilies.—Dec. 31, 1706, on a general thanksgiving, (when Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, preached).—May 1, 1707, on the Union of the two Kingdoms.—Aug. 19, 1708, for a deliverance from the French king's invasion, and for the victory of Audenarde; the colours there taken still remaining at St. Paul's.—July 7, 1713, (when the Queen was prevented from attending by a violent fit of the gout) on concluding the Peace of Utrecht.—Queen Elizabeth used frequently to assist on similar solemnities; but none of our Monarchs seem to have been so frequent an attender as Queen Anne.—Our present most gracious Sovereign, it may be added, has twice paid his adorations to the Supreme Being at St. Paul's, on occasions which reflect the highest honour on the fervour of his piety.

P. 417. note, l. 16, r. for West Looe in 1713, for Leskeard, in 1714.

P. 418. Mr. Edward Trelawny was appointed a Commissioner of the Victualling Office, Oct. 25, 1725; of the Customs, Jan. 2, 1732; and Governor of Jamaica in August, 1736.

P. 428. Mr. Whitfield was installed prebendary of Finbury, in the church of St. Paul, Dec. 22, 1707.

P. 436. Bishop Robinson's Description of Sweden is appended to Lord Molesworth's "Account of Denmark."—The following character of him was sketched by Mr. Mackey in 1715: "Being returned from Sweden, where he was resident for many years, upon the death of the Bishop of Bristol, he was preferred to that bishoprick. And as he is an excellent statesman, as well as a divine, he was not a little consulted by the Earl of Oxford, who, finding his capacity so great, and his knowledge so general, resolved to have him of the privy council; to which end he was first made lord privy seal, and afterwards took his place at the council-board, where he was of so much service, and made such a venerable figure, that her Majesty made choice of him as one of her plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Utrecht. And as he has followed his instructions, and obeyed his Mistress's orders, it is some surprize to the considering part of the world, how this gentleman can be called

called to an account for the doing that, which, had he not done it, would have more endangered both his life and reputation. If to be dutiful and obedient is treason, they have a good article against him; but if not, it is to be hoped this gentleman will escape their fury. He was, on the death of the Bishop of London, soon after his return from signing the peace at Utrecht, advanced to that bishoprick, and in great favour with her Majesty; who had so great an esteem for him, that, had she outlived the Archbishop of Canterbury, she would certainly have made this gentleman archbishop. He is a little, brown man; of a grave and venerable countenance; very charitable and good-humoured; strictly religious himself, and takes what care he can to make others so; is very careful in whatever he undertakes. Divinity and policy have pretty equally divided his time; and as few, if any, have made a better progress in either of them, so he cannot but be always an ornament as well as an advantage to his country. About sixty years old."—Such was the character of him whilst living. After his death, he was thus described: "Since his accession to the diocese of London, he has given frequent and undoubted proofs of his great affection for the Established Church, by opposing the innovations of Heresy, by contributing to and promoting the augmentation of poor benefices, and by vindicating his Clergy against the unjust aspersions and calumnies of evil-minded men. His steady attachment to the Civil Constitution was equally demonstrated, as well by his repeated directions to his Clergy, as by his own constant and uniform behaviour. All places where he came, have felt the benefit of his enlarged and public spirit; the place of his nativity, in the building and endowment of a chapel for divine worship, and a school for the education of youth: the College, which formerly adopted him into their society, in a handsome addition of buildings, and the settlement of three ample exhibitions: the houses wherein he has resided, in commodious and beautiful reparations: and the neighbouring poor, in liberal and continued acts of goodness, extended even to those who might seem to deserve least from him, and without any affectation of popularity or outward shew *."—He had been resident in Sweden and envoy extraordinary there during the reign of King William; and was continued as envoy by Queen Anne. He was afterwards one of the governors of the Charterhouse, a privy counsellor, and one of

* Post Boy, April 13, 1723.

the commissioners for building the fifty new churches; and died at Hampsted, of an asthma and dropsy, April 11, 1713.

P. 439, l. 1. r. "composing."

P. 452. The following pamphlets were this year published:

1. "A serious Enquiry into the present State of the Church of England; or the Danger of the Church from the Rashness of the Clergy. In a Letter to Dr. Atterbury, Prolocutor to the Lower House of Convocation. 1711."

2. "Some short Remarks upon the late Address of the Bishop of London and his Clergy to the Queen. In a Letter to Dr. Smalridge, 1711," 8vo.

P. 458. Mr. Hele Trelawny had a dispensation, April 6, 1736, for holding his two rectories.

P. 473. Sir Richard Steele, in "The Lover," N^o. XXVII. speaking "of the famous Dr. Busby," adds, "To whose great talents and knowledge in the genius of men we owe very great ornaments of this age, and the supply of men of letters and capacity for many generations, or rather classes of remarkable men during his long and eminent life. I must confess (and I have long reflected upon it), that I am of opinion Busby's genius for education had as great an effect upon the age he lived in, as that of any antient Philosopher, without excepting one, had upon his contemporaries. Though I do not perceive that admirable man is remembered by them, at least not recorded by them, with half the veneration he deserves. I have known great numbers of his scholars; and am confident, I could discover a stranger who had been such with a very little conversation: those of great parts, who have passed through his instruction, have such a peculiar readiness of fancy and delicacy of taste, as is seldom found in men educated elsewhere, though of equal talents; and those who were of slower capacities have an arrogance (for Learning without Genius always produces that) which sets them much above greater merit that grew under any other gardener. He had a power of raising what the lad had in him to the utmost height in what Nature designed him: and it was not his fault, but the effect of Nature, that there were no indifferent people came out of his hands; but his scholars were the finest gentlemen, or the greatest pedants, in the age. The soil which he manured always grew fertile; but it is not in the planter to make flowers of weeds; but whatever it was, under Busby's eye, it was sure to get forward towards the use for which Nature designed it."

P. 487. l. 16. *for* M. A. *read* M. P.

P. 488. l. 36, r. for an account of Dr. John Freind, see vol. II. pp. 242. 370. 414; vol. III. p. 431.

VOLUME II.

P. 4. note 1, l. 14. If Dr. Warton's note be well founded, Atterbury was as bad a moralist as he was a subject, only with this difference, that his oaths were the infirmity of passion, his politics the result of his principles. In either case, if he had not been banished from his country, he should have hid himself in it*.—In "An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry," Swift speaks of Lord Harcourt, Lord Bolingbroke, Mr. Masham, and Bishop Atterbury, in nearly the same terms as Mr. Lewis does in the passage already quoted.

P. 9. Dr. Sacheverell's famous sermon was dedicated to the Stewards *nominatim*; and the names of the two Bishops above-mentioned [Bisse and Atterbury] *non invent*. In what year the Prelates were Stewards the Remarker knows not.

P. 16. note, l. 1, r. "which follows;" l. 2, r. "matériel."

P. 23. note. Dr. Younger, King George 1's *little Dean*, was removed out of the way, and said to be dead; by the ministers. From this one would think that prime ministers, like our domestic servants, only changed *names*: so that Walpole, Pelham, North, &c. were the same identities, only under different appellations. But, if the Nation did not suffer, the Prince would very seldom merit compassion †.

P. 35. note, l. penult. r. "Barker's."

P. 37. In the dispute about the respective merits of rhyme and blank verse, Lord Kaims seems to have observed, with acuteness and judgement, that rhyme is but indifferently suited to elevated and sublime subjects, as producing a certain gaiety, airiness, and cheerfulness, not according with the gravity of the sentiments. In the 18th chapter of Elements of Criticism, are many just observations, with some exceptions, on the comparative merits of rhyme and blank verse, worth a diligent perusal. Dr. WARTON.

P. 42, July 27, 1748, Proposals were published for printing by subscription, "Antonii Alsopi Odarum Libri duo, alter continens Epistolares, alter Miscellanea;" and the following particulars were then first printed.

"The Author of these Odes was educated in Westminster college, and thence elected to Christ Church in Oxford. Of this learned body he had the honour to be a principal ornament at a time when it was in its highest

* These are the words of the Critic in Gent. Mag. vol. LIV. p. 332.

† Ibid.

repute. For, being soon distinguished by that universal master of human science Dean Aldrich, he passed through the usual offices to that of Censor of the house; and had, for some years, committed to him the chief care of the young Noblemen and Gentlemen, with which that Society abounded. In this useful and eminent employment he continued, till his merits recommended him to Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Winchester, who appointed him his chaplain, and soon after, by preferment, made an ample provision for the learned retirement, in which, when once entered, he continued to the end of his days. This was so suited to his genius and inclination, that, for a course of years, he would not be drawn from it by the repeated solicitations of those who thought him due to a more public life and higher station. Among the various branches of *philological* learning for which he was eminent, his singularly delicate taste of the *Classic* Poets was the chief. This induced him to make use of the *Sapphic* numbers in his familiar correspondence with his most intimate friends; in which he shewed a facility so uncommon, and a style so natural and easy, that he has been not unjustly esteemed inferior only to his master Horace. These are to be the chief contents of the proposed volume; and a singular instance they are of the great power, which the merit of a work has in its preservation. We have seen, in many examples, that all the advantages of print and paper cannot give duration to a puny and sickly offspring, nor add one day to the months of its life; but these Odes, deserted by their parent and left exposed to the wide world, have, by the strength of their constitution, without the assistance of the press, lived some to forty, and most above thirty years. As the Author, whose modesty (the constant companion of merit) made him disregardful of his own works, never kept any regular copies of his compositions, the manuscript collections of them have been chiefly made from the original epistles. But as no collector, however industrious, can expect to have got together all the Author's Odes of this kind; as there are many others, beside the Epistolary, that well deserve to be collected and preserved; and as the whole merit the best dress the press can give them, and are a kind of public due to the literary world, this publication has been often wished for. But probably this work would have still been neglected, if there had not intervened an unhappy occasion for the present undertaking it: this is, a very near relation of the Author's being, in an advanced age, by unexpected losses, greatly reduced; for whose benefit the profits of the

the publication are intended. Great care will be taken to make this Collection as complete and correct as possible, and to keep out of it all spurious things falsely attributed to the same Author. The size of the volume at present cannot be exactly known; but it is believed it will amount to twenty sheets. As the works of the Author are uncommonly dispersed, it is desired that they who have any Poems of his would send an account of the same, with the first line of each poem, and a direction where a copy thereof may be had, if it should not be already in the Editor's collection, directed to Mr. Bowyer, printer, in White Friars, London; and the favour shall be thankfully acknowledged*."

P. 50. l. 2. Though Addison censures the introduction of such an allegory in an epic poem, yet at the same time he highly extols the bold and sublime imagery it contains. Lord Kaimes joins with Voltaire and the French critics, as might be expected, in condemning it. They fastidiously call it nauseous and disgusting. Dr. WARTON.

Ibid. l. 5. What would Atterbury have thought of the gross misrepresentations and tasteless censures of his acquaintance Voltaire on Milton, had he lived to have read the article, *Epopée*, in the "Questions sur l'Encyclopedie," in which he says, "Les Grecs recommandoient aux poëtes de sacrifier aux Graces; Milton a sacrifié au Diable?" I have never met with a French Writer, or a Frenchman, that had any true taste for Milton. Dr. WARTON.

P. 58—63. These Letters of the Bishop to Prior are full of affection and regard. One, in a vein of irony, contains a pleasing compliment on his Solomon and Alma. Another abounds in hackneyed quotations from Virgil; which I mention on account of a wonderful, unscholarlike comparison of a line of Virgil and Homer, the former of which he prefers,—*"dum spiritus hos regit artus,"*—to the *φίλα γυναικα* of Homer; "friendly knees," he says, whereas *φίλα* signifies no more than "sua gēna," or than *hos* joined to *artus*.—Two severe Epigrams against Atterbury have been ascribed to Prior, and are both inserted in the Collection of his Works. In the British Museum, there is one Letter of Pope to Prior, in commendation of his Poem, intituled *Damon*, a little piece of true humour. Dr. WARTON.

P. 59. "Mr. Chambers of Dartford" I remember at the visitation of Bishop Wilcocks in 1745. He was then old, sullen, and superb. And I also remember a melancholy re-

* This is followed by a list of such poems as the Editor at that time possessed.

flection on the memory of "Mr. Clough of Ashford" (Prior's godson), by a man who has some reason to say of every one, *rebus alienis versatis* *.

P. 63. Gay's prose narrative is affecting, and his epitaph on the two lovers is both simple and majestic. Pope's on the same subject seems rather too fabricated and studied. Lady Wortley's letter is ludicrous and affected, and her composition in the poetry as void of English delicacy as it is of Mahometan gravity. As to the Bishop's criticism on the former, it is trite, laboured, and fantastic. If any one else had written this critique, it would require no great sagacity to know in what class Pope would have placed him †.

P. 79. The Charity Sermon preached at Chiselhurst in 1718 by the Rev. William Hendley having been attended by some very remarkable particulars; the following circumstantial account of it is thought not unworthy of being preserved:

"The Trustees of the Charity-school belonging to St. Anne's within Aldersgate, London, having procured leave of the Rev. Mr. Willson to have two Charity Sermons preached in the Parish Church of Chiselhurst, in the county of Kent, on Sunday August 24, 1718; they accordingly went down with the children, and the Rev. Mr. Hendley, the person designed to preach for them. When they came there, and Sermon was over in the morning, Mr. Willson went up to the Altar; and, after he had made his own offering on one of the Communion-patens, gave the two patens out to two persons, Mr. George Campman and Mr. Walter Pratt, to collect the offerings of the Congregation; and, in the mean while, read the sentences at the Offertory. He had not read many of them, before the Collectors were got down to Mr. Justice Farrington's pew, where, as they were holding out the paten to him, he laid hold of them, and told them, "they should proceed no farther, but should be taken up." Then he beckoned with his hand to somebody at the lower end of the church, and his servant came up to him, whom he bid to go and call the Churchwarden, or Constable. Mr. Willson this while called to the Collectors from the Communion-table to proceed in the collection; they answered, "they could proceed no farther." Then Mr. Willson came down from the Altar himself, and would have taken the paten out of Mr. Campman's hand to have collected himself; and said, "I desire your charity." And Mr. Justice Farrington put forth his hands, and stopped him likewise; and Mr. Willson said,

* The Critic in Gent. Mag. vol. LIV. p. 333.

† Ibid.

" You

"You may stop me if you please," but I have done nothing but what the Rubrick directs. At this, Mr. Hendley, who was in the pulpit, called for a Common-prayer book, and read aloud the last Rubrick before the Offertory, and the last Rubrick after the Communion-service; and then came down out of the pulpit, and told Mr. Justice Farrington he could not answer disturbing them after that manner in divine service, and in the execution of their ministerial office, and that they had done nothing but what they were directed to by the Rubricks and Order of the Church. Then Mr. Willson bid the Collectors bring the moneys up to the rails, where Mr. Willson and Mr. Hendley received them, and placed them on the Communion-table, and Mr. Willson called to the Churchwarden to come and tell the money with him. By this time, Sir Edward Bettison, another Justice of the Peace, was come up to the rails, with Mr. Justice Farrington; and a Constable * with his long staff at the same time came in at the South door in the Chancel; and the two Justices ordered the Churchwarden not to meddle with the moneys. Then, when he refused to come and tell the money with Mr. Willson, Mr. Willson told it with Mr. Hendley upon the Lord's table, and said, "he would refer the disposal of it to my Lord Bishop of Rochester." At this Mr. Justice Farrington told Mr. Willson, "what he did was contrary to law;" and asked him, "if he made the Church a Sanctuary for breaking the law?" Mr. Willson replied, "What he did was according to law; and that they (meaning the two Justices above) hindered him from going on with his office." Then Mr. Justice Farrington turned about to the congregation, and ordered them to disperse immediately; saying, "The Church was done, and they were all rioters." Mr. Willson told him, "The Church was not done, for the Prayer for Christ's Church Militant was not read, nor the Blessing given; and that, if there was a riot, Mr. Justice Farrington made it." And Mr. Justice Farrington said, "What he did he would stand by; that the service of the Church was over, and that he would take up every one that stayed in the Church any longer." After which, Mr. Justice Farrington and Sir Edward Bettison bound over to appear at the next Quarter Sessions, for a riot and a tumult, the Reverend Mr. Willson, the Reverend Mr. Hendley, Mr. George Campman, and Mr. Walter Pratt, the two Collectors appointed by Mr. Willson. This relation is

* The Constables had been altered on the preceding Tuesday.

attested by more than twenty persons, who were present at the Church, and were eye and ear witnesses of this very remarkable transaction, some of them gentlemen of the best worth and credit in the parish *.

N. B. Mr. Justice Farrington said, they designed to suppress all the Charity Schools throughout England.

GEORGE WILLSON."

"On Wednesday, Oct. 8, about five in the evening, were called upon their recognizances at the Sessions held at Maidstone, in Kent, the Reverend Mr. Willson, the Reverend Mr. Hendley, Mr. George Campman, Mr. Walter Pratt, and Mr. Filioll Harding, for the riot and tumult pretended to be committed by them in the Parish Church of Chiselhurst, in that county, on Sunday August 24, last past. When they had severally answered to their names, the *then* Chairman asked "whether any body was bound over to prosecute them?" To which no answer being made; he asked farther, "whether any body had any thing to say against them?" and directed himself particularly to Mr. Farrington, who presently took the hint; and very modestly recommended it to Sir Edward Bettison; and Sir Edward Bettison, with equal modesty and calmness, referred it to one Marsh, who opened the cause with the unprecedency of the fact, and the weightiness of it, with abundance of dirty rhetorick upon the Clergy, calling them "vagrants, vagabonds, itinerants, and mendicants; which last," he wisely took occasion to observe to the Bench, "were an established order in the Church of Rome, and with much concern doubted to what they might grow here in England; for," said he, (and may he always say it) "these Charity-schools are got into most parishes throughout England; and therefore it is time to put a stop to such a growing evil." He went on with abundance of words, full of venomous reflexions upon the Church, the Clergy, the Ecclesiastical Courts, and the Charity-schools, to the seeming satisfaction (the more to be lamented) of above forty gentlemen; and at last concluded, considering of what importance the cause might be to the whole Nation, with an humble petition, that it might be re-

* "The original may be seen by any person who desires it, enquiry being made of the Publisher of this Paper.—Saturday, August 23, 1718, Mr. Filioll Harding, one of the stewards of the Charity-school before-mentioned, went down with some of the children to Chiselhurst; where he was apprehended by two Constables, and carried before the High Sheriff of the County, Sir Edward Bettison, and Mr. Justice Farrington, who ordered him to be confined all night, for collecting at Chiselhurst the last year; and the next day made him find bail with the rest. Post-boy, Sept. 30, 1718."

ferred

ferred to a superior Court, and that the gentlemen might be bound over to appear at the next Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery of Assize to be held for this county. When he had done his harangue, he produced an affidavit, made by the Churchwarden of Chiselhurst, wherein was deposed, "that the Reverend Gentlemen, with the three others abovementioned, occasioned a disturbance in the Church;" but how far this affidavit may affect them, time must shew; for this same ambidexter Churchwarden had, the very day before, presented Sir Edward Bettison and Mr. Farrington at the Archdeacon's Visitation at Dartford, for making the disturbance themselves*. The Counsel for the gentlemen was Mr. Blondel, who, with a just resentment of the many scurrilous reflexions that had been passed upon things sacred, and with a zeal becoming the cause he was pleading, insisted, "that it was an infringement upon the liberties of the subject, that it was breaking through all the laws of the land to fetter men with recognizances, without indicting them, or at least specifying some crime against them; and therefore prayed that they might be indicted, that so they might know what they were charged with." But Marsh replied, "that they had not time enough to draw up an indictment (though they had had six weeks time), neither did they know what nature the offence was of; and so in the conclusion it was carried by the Bench, *nemine contradicente*, that they should be bound over to the Assize; which was accordingly done."

P. S. Mr. Willson is since dead; being 75 years of age, and very infirm, when they forced him down to Maidstone. He set such an example of charity at his death, leaving rings to two of his persecutors, Major St—ns, and Capt. Farrington, as may shame them into repentance, and a more charitable disposition of mind. Indeed he hath left Sir Edward Bettison nothing, but a good reason why he left him nothing, and that is, because he never frequented the Church. He hath left 200l. to the Charity-school at Bromley, and was interred last Friday night, his corpse attended by the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of Rochester, who performed the service at the grave, by a numerous company of clergy and gentry, by the children of Bromley school, and by all the Parish of Chiselhurst, except the two Justices, who both were invited †.

* "The Right Reverend the Bishop of Rochester hath commenced a suit in his Lordship's Court, against two Justices of the Peace for the county of Kent, for opposing the late Reverend Mr. Willson, &c. and others in their collecting money in the said county, for a Society of Charity Children in London." Original Weekly Journal, Nov. 1, 1719..

† Post-boy, Nov. 1, 1719.

"On Tuesday, the 10th of March, 1718-19, at the Affizes held at Rochester for the county of Kent, the grand jury found a Bill of Indictment for a misdemeanor against the Rev. Mr. Hendley, Lecturer of St. Mary Islington*, for preaching a Charity Sermon at Chiselmurst, in the said county, on August the 24th 1718; and against Mr. George Campman, Mr. Walter Pratt, and Mr. Filioll Harding, for collecting and receiving the alms of the congregation. Which indictment (the prosecutors Sir Edward Bettison, and Mr. Justice Farrington refusing then to try) the gentlemen traversed, and gave security to try at the next affizes to be held for that county; when, it is to be hoped, the justices will put it off no longer, this being the fourth time the said gentlemen have given bail to this extraordinary process†."

Mr. Hendley was, with his printer and publisher, taken into custody of a messenger of the press, in November, 1719, for a pamphlet called "Charity still a Christian Virtue;" but they were all admitted to bail. He was also the author of "A Defence of the Charity Schools, 1725," 4to. and published five single Sermons, in 1715, 1716, and 1718.

P. 96. Add this Note: "On Sunday, Nov. 1, died George Wilcocks, Esq; High Bailiff of Westminster; who bought his place about two years ago of Mr. Miles for 3000l. and is succeeded by Squire Morice, who married the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Atterbury, the present Bishop of Rochester." Hanover Postman, Nov. 7, 1719.

P. 98. Lanfranc was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1070 till 1093. Anschtillus was made Archdeacon in 1075. Q. the evidence authentic for the well-known promotion by Lanfranc of his brother? The reason of the enquiry is, that if Anschtillus was the person alluded to, he was likewise Archdeacon of Rochester, and, according to Domesday Record, held between 1080 and 1086, under Odo de Baieux, a manor in the Parish of Darenth. It is not distinguished by any name in Domesday, but is styled *Helle* in Textus Roffensis‡. I have not been able to trace the consanguinity of Anschtill to Lanfranc; but have no doubt of Bishop Atterbury's preferring his kinsman Brydges (who had been an old and intimate acquaintance§) to his own elder brother Lewis, from an opinion that by promoting the former he should strengthen

* He had before been Lecturer of St. James's church in Clerkenwell; and preached a Farewell Sermon there, Nov. 2, 1718.

† The Weekly Medley, March 23, 1718-19.

‡ Thorpe's Antiq. p. 99.

§ See vol. I. p. 397.

his interest with his Grace of Chandos. Dr. Henry Brydges held the two rectories of Adelfsthorpe and Broadwell, in Gloucestershire, from 1699 to 1717; and was Proctor for that Diocese in Convocation in 1705*. He resigned his Chaplainship to the King, Dec. 1718, (which might be a circumstance that recommended him to the Bishop's favour); was made prebendary of Reculverland, in St. Paul's, London, on the death of Dr. Brabant, April 27, 1722; and was elected Visitor of Baliol College, Oxford, June 17, 1723†. Three Sermons published by Archdeacon Brydges (one of them before the House of Commons) are mentioned in the Preacher's Assistant. He published also "A Speech to the Clergy of the Diocese of Rochester, at the Archidiaconal Visitation begun on Wednesday, May 3, 1721, by the Honourable Henry Brydges, D.D. Archdeacon of Rochester;" in which Speech, as might be expected, are encomiums on the Right Reverend Patron. He died May 9, 1725, in the 54th year of his age; and was buried at Whitechurch, co. Middlesex. He left two sons and several daughters, by his wife Annabella, grand-daughter of Sir Robert Atkins, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. The eldest of the daughters married Jan. 30, 1729-30, to Sir Robert Walters, who died without issue by her Nov. 10, 1731. The second married to W. Inwood, esq. of Stanmore, co. Middlesex. Mary married W. Dean, esq. of Wilcott, Oxon Aug. 1739‡.—In the General Evening Post, to July 16, 1789, was this paragraph: "By the death of James Brydges, esq. son of the Rev. Dr. Henry Brydges, and grandson of the Earl of Carnarvon, nephew to the great Duke of Chandos, and cousin to the present, the inheritance of the Earldom of Carnarvon becomes extinct."

P. 99. Add this note. On Friday, April 14, 1720, the Bishop of Bristol preached before the King at St. James's, for the Bishop of Rochester, who was indisposed.

P. 102. Last line, r. "at the end of vol. l. No. VII."

P. 107. l. 15. How contemptuously soever the Bishop thought of those Tales, yet was Addison very fond of them; and we know how beautifully he imitated them. Dr. WARTON.

P. 107. In the church of Tichmarsh, in Northamptonshire, in the middle of the North wall of the chapel, is a wooden monument, having the bust of a person at top, wreathed,

* See "Some Proceedings, &c." p. 20.

† Historical Register.

‡ Annals of Europe.

crowned with laurel. Underneath, "THE POET;" and below, this inscription:

"Here lie the honoured remains
of Erasmus Dryden, esqr. and Mrs. Mary Pickering his wife.
He was the 3d son of sir Erasmus Dryden, an antient baronet,
who lived with great honour in this county in the reign
of Queen Elizabeth. Mr. Dryden was a very ingenious
worthy gentleman, and justice of the peace in this county.

He married Mrs. Mary Pickering,
daughter of the reverend Doctor Pickering,
of Aldwinkle, and grand-daughter to sir Gilbert Pickering.
Of her it may truly be said, she was a crown to her husband.
Her whole conversation was as becometh the Gospel of Christ.

They had 14 children; the eldest of whom was
John Dryden, esq. the celebrated Poet and Laureat of his
time. His bright parts and learning are best seen in his own
excellent writings on various subjects. We boast, that
he was bred and had his first learning here, where he has
often made us happie by his kind visits and most delightful
conversation. He married the lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter to
Henry earl of Berkshire; by whom he had three sons,

Charles, John, and Erasmus-Henry;
and, after 70 odd years, when Nature could
be no longer supported, he received the notice of his
approaching dissolution with sweet submission and intire
resignation to the Divine Will; and he took so tender
and obliging a farewell of his friends, as none but he
himself could have expressed (of which sorrowful number
I was one). His body was honourably interred in West-
minster Abbey, among the greatest Wits of divers ages.
His sons were all fine ingenious accomplished gentlemen:
they died in their youth, unmarried; sir Erasmus-Henry, the
youngest, lived till the antient honour of the family
descended on him. After his death, it came to his
good uncle, sir Erasmus Dryden; whose grandson is
the pretent sir John Dryden, of Canons-Ashby,
the antient seat of the family.

Sir Erasmus Dryden, the first-named, married his
daughters into very honourable families; the eldest
to sir John Phillips; the second to sir John Hartop;
the youngest was married to sir John Pickering,
great grand-father to the present sir Gilbert Pickering, baronet.

And it is with delight and humble thankfulness,
that I reflect on the character of my pious Ancestors;

and

and that I am now, with my owne hand, paying my duty to fir Erasmus Dryden, my great grand-father, and to Erasmus Dryden, esq; my honoured uncle, in the 80th year of my age, Eliza Creed, 1722."

P. 112. Dr. Cannon was tutor to Sir Robert Walpole, and was called "gloomy Cannon," both from his dusky appearance, and his styling St. John "a gloomy enthusiast." He was a fit tutor for a pupil who is said to have disclaimed all conscience on principle*.

P. 113. Add to the second note, A much more useful undertaking [of Huetius] was his directing and superintending the Dauphin edition of the Classics. The commentary on his own life is entertaining. Dr. WARTON.

P. 119. The promised note on the *Arrii* and *Sebosi* will be found, as a separate article, in the Appendix, N° I.

P. 121. Add to the first note: But the Bishop's attempt to settle the time when the several Evangelists wrote their Gospels, as appears in the subsequent Letters, was then the principal Work he was employed upon. This subject was first started by our Author; whose opinion, in short, seems to have been, 1, that the Four Gospels were all written in the same order in which they are now placed; 2. that St. Mark's was intended, partly as an epitome, but chiefly as a supplement, to St. Matthew's; 3. that St. Luke had seen both these when he wrote his own, which was between A. D. 46 and 57; and 4. that St. John had seen the three preceding Gospels, and intended to supply what was still wanting in all of them, but wrote his Gospel before the destruction of Jerusalem. And also, that, by "the brother whose praise is in the Gospel, throughout all the churches," mentioned 2 Cor. viii. 18, Paul probably meant St. Luke; in which latter opinion Dr. Wall concurs. The correspondence with these "two learned men, on a subject of great use and equal difficulty," is mentioned by his Lordship in his Defence before the Lords, as one of his employments during the time of the supposed conspiracy, and the whole is replete with erudition and critical sagacity†.

P. 122. Dr. Wall of Shoreham was a great humourist. The following anecdotes, which I heard from his only daugh-

* The Critic in Gent. Mag. vol. LIV. p. 119.

† Yet the before-mentioned Critic ventures to declare, that "he looks on all that Atterbury says about his study and scrutiny into the Scriptures as mere affectation and design: the subject itself was not worth a thought; and as to the use he pretended to make of it on his trial, it was too trifling and barefaced to deceive even the most stupid of his prosecutors." Ibid. p. 435.

ter, the late Mrs. Catharine Waring of Rochester, fifty years ago, will prove it. At the christening of a child (with whom I went to school in 1728), he bade the godfather (one Sinyard) "name this child." "*Tom*, Sir," says the uncle. "What say you?" says the Doctor, looking at the father. "I say *Tom* too." "Do you?" says the Doctor; "why then I say you are two *Tom Fools*. *John*, I baptize thee, &c." At a visitation at Sevenoak in 1720, a clergyman at table seeing Dr. Wall playing with a cork, whispered another, "Look what a 'dirty hand Dr. W. has.'" "I'll lay you a bottle," says the Doctor drily, "there is a dirtier in company." "Done." The Doctor produced the other, and won the wager. One of his old parishioners (a Mr. Wood) said, he had never heard him preach on any subject for forty years but Noah's ark, except on a recovery from illness, when he used to open against the Baptists, to whose preachers he had applied in this sickness. He was a great zealot for Atterbury, and would have lighted up all Whittlebury forest, in case of his recall, at his own expence. Wall died in 1728, aged 82, having been vicar of that parish 52 years, and was succeeded by the present resident incumbent [1784], the rev. Vincent Perronet, M. A. in March the same year, so that he has been now vicar 56 years (two vicars only in 108 years). For him the living was procured by that Dr. Gee mentioned p. 538, as dean of Lincoln, and rector of Chevening, where is the seat of Earl Stanhope, to whom Mr. P. has been honorary chaplain ever since 1735, when his parishioners, unused to the sight of a scarf, surrounded him, and paid him the silent adoration of a new-erected pagod. Wall left sixteen grand-children, all by an only daughter (mentioned above), eight sons and eight daughters, with all of whom the writer of this was well acquainted; and in general all, without exception, were remarkable for good sense, orthodoxy, and scepticism—and, paradoxical as it may appear, it is matter of fact. About half of them are still living. The Doctor had once the offer of a living of 300*l.* a year, Chelsfield, three miles from Shoreham, which his conscience would not let him take. However, in due time he came to, and took another of about one-fifth of the value, at twelve miles distance, Milton near Gravesend*.

P. 139. The note, a judicious friend observes, is superfluous; there being nothing remarkable in the Bishop not mentioning his wife by name. The persons to whom the letters were addressed knew doubtless to what he alluded.

* Gent. Mag. vol. LIV. p. 435.

P. 141. The superlative sublimity of the "Paradise Lost" has eclipsed the milder beauties of "Paradise Regained;" for beauties it has, and in no small abundance. Dr. WARTON.

P. 143. Add to the last note, "This is a peevish sentiment. Surely more privileges were left; or, rather, what privileges were taken away?" Dr. WARTON.

P. 160, note, l. 10. "St. Edmund's chapel."

P. 169. l. 7. Dr. Johnson thought differently about this tragedy, written evidently and happily in the style and manner of Æschylus; and said, "that it was deficient in both requisites of a true Aristotelic middle. Its intermediate parts have neither cause nor consequence, neither hasten nor retard the catastrophe." To which opinion the judicious Mr. Twining accedes. What Dr. Warburton said of it is wonderfully ridiculous, that Milton "chose the subject for the sake of the satire on bad wives;" and that the subjects of this tragedy and Paradise Lost were not very different, "the fall of two heroes by a woman." Milton, in this drama, has given an example of every species of measure which the English language is capable of exhibiting, not only in the choruses, but in the dialogue part. The chief parts of the dialogue, (though there is a great variety of measure in the choruses of the Greek tragedy) are in Iambic verse. I recollect but three places in which Hexameter verses are introduced in the Greek tragedies, once in the Trachiniæ, once in the Philoctes of Sophocles, and once in the Tröades of Euripides. Voltaire wrote an opera on this subject of Samson, 1732; which was set to music by Rameau, but was never performed: he has inserted choruses to Venus and Adonis; and the piece finishes by introducing Samson actually pulling down the temple, on the stage, and crushing all the assembly, which Milton has flung into so fine a narration; and the opera is ended by Samson's saying, "J'ai réparé ma honte, & j'expire en vainquer." And yet this was the man that dared to deride the irregularities of Shakespeare. Dr. WARTON.

P. 205, l. ult. r. "Letter CCCIX."

P. 206. This letter, as indeed are many of them, is crowded, even to affectation, with very trite quotations from Horace and Virgil. The Bishop appears to have been rather a polite than profound scholar. One of his best compositions is a Preface to Waller's Poems, written 1690; in which is a rational and powerful defence of blank verse, and one of the earliest encomiums on the Paradise-Lost, which he, and not Lord Somers, had the great merit of procuring to be printed

in folio by subscription. He wrote a large part of Boyle's Dissertation on Phalaris against Bentley; but complained afterwards of the coldness and ingratitude with which his labours, on this occasion, were treated by Mr. Boyle. This complaint probably arose from his having expected, from his sanguine temper, more than was his due. His Sermons, according to Dr. Blair, have been too much praised for purity of style. Never was there a more complete victory than was gained over him by bishop Hoadly, for his perverse and groundless interpretation of the text, "If in this life only we have hope, we are of all men most miserable." Hoadly also powerfully attacked him on the doctrine of Passive Obedience; a doctrine so singularly absurd as scarcely indeed to merit a serious refutation. In allusion to Hoadly's lameness, who so frequently attacked Atterbury, it was said,

"Raro antecedentem scelestum,
Deservit pede poena claudo."

No two men were ever of more diametrically opposite tempers, as well as principles, than Hoadly and Atterbury; the former, all calmness and tranquillity; the latter, all vehemence and fire. Dr. WARTON.

P. 220, note, l. 7, r. "Returning to England in 1742."

Ibid. l. 14. Mr. Ashworth was a gardener at Twickenham:

P. 224. The first Letter mentioned in the Notes was by Dr. Pearce, afterwards Bishop of Rochester.

P. 225, note. "A dabbler in that kind of politics." I look upon him to have been, in the most poignant sense, a ducker and a diver. Its being hard to trace him to his hole was owing to that in him of a fox, who, though taken, conceals his haunt*.

P. 246. l. 15. Whatever Mr. Pope's opinion might be, it is now but too manifest, from the Collection of the Bishop's Letters, that he was engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the Pretender. Dr. WARTON.

P. 256. Abp. Herring's remark on Atterbury is a very good one, and reflects no small degree of honour on his Grace's judgement and penetration. Such spirits as Atterbury's will always afford matter for criticism; and had he lived *Curiâ Augustinâ*, Horace, I am persuaded, would have ranked him with his *Socii Ambubaiarum* †.

P. 257, in a note, there is a transcript from Mr. Denne's History of Rochester, pp. 190—1, of a part of his remark on

* The Critic in Gept. Mag. vol. LIV. p. 335.

† Ibid.

the balance of the exchange between Lord Bolingbroke and Bishop Atterbury: When this was first written, Mr. Denne surmised (though he did not choose to suggest it, lest it should be deemed too fanciful) that the returning Exile might have made his peace with the British Minister (or, to use the expression of Atterbury himself, when writing of himself, *prepared his way home by that means*, vol. II. p. 406,) by discovering the intrigues of Atterbury and Co. with the *ci-devant* King. The Noble Lord was unquestionably a man for all works; and he might have been prompted to betray the cause of his old master from a spirit of resentment for the loss of the Secretary's seal. Be the surmise plausible or chimerical, it was evidently only an exchange of one Jacobite for another.

Bishop Warburton says, "Mr. Pope was convinced, before the Bishop's death, that, during his banishment, he was in the intrigues of the Pretender, &c." And in a Letter to Mr. Morice, Aug. 25, the Bishop says, "My journey to those parts (Montpelier) will convince the world (as I desire it should) that I have nothing to do in certain affairs; as I really have not, nor ever intend to have for the future." Does not this most strongly imply that before he had had to do in certain affairs? Particularly as he declares in a subsequent letter to Mrs. Morice, p. 408, "I own, the chiefest reason for my journey (to the South of France), and of greatest weight with me, is, that I may be out of the very appearance of managing any thing for a certain person, who so manages his own business that it is impossible to do him any service;" a sentence, as the Editor in a note justly observes, which requires no comment. Again, p. 406, "Without the least thought of preparing my way home by that means, were I sure of never returning I would do the very same thing;" and, p. 408, "I am resolved to be no ways concerned in a certain person's affairs; but to live retired, and free, if it be possible, from the suspicion of it. This I would be glad should be made known to the Great Person, who enquired after a certain great lady about me;" meaning, as the note-writer with reason supposes, King George II. Q. May it not then be reasonable to suppose, that the Bishop had hopes of returning, and that he was preparing the way for it? S. D.

"When Atterbury arrived at Calais, he found Bolingbroke, who had just obtained his pardon, waiting for a conveyance to England; on which he expressed his surprize, and exclaimed, 'Then I am exchanged.' And well might the

Bishop be astonished, that a Minister who had secretly caballed to place the Pretender on the throne, and had, since his flight, openly engaged in his service, should experience the lenity of Government, and be permitted to return to his native country. which he had endeavoured to distress by secret intrigues and open rebellion *."

P. 258. In Mr. Pope's "Letters to a Lady," published by Doddsley in 1769, he says, June 2, 1723, "I am at present under the afflicting circumstance of taking my last leave of one of the truest friends I ever had, and one of the greatest men in all polite learning, as well as the most agreeable companion, this Nation ever had." On the subject of Friendship he had thus written in a former Letter: "I have ever believed this as a sacred maxim, that the most ingenuous natures are the most sincere; and the most knowing and sensible minds made the best friends. Of all those that I have thought it the felicity of my life to know, I have ever found the most distinguished in capacity, the most distinguished in morality; and those the most to be depended on, whom one esteemed so much as to desire they should be so."

P. 278. l. 3, add this note (see vol. III. p. 326.)

"Nor ev'n this exile seemed enough severe;

To my lost country Brussels rose too near!"

P. 313. Advertisement to the subscribers for Pope's Homer: "Whereas it was at first proposed that the first volume of this translation should be published by the beginning of May next; this is to give notice, that the Undertaker intends it shall be delivered two months sooner than the time promised. Whoever, therefore, is willing to subscribe for the said book, is desired to cause the first subscription (which is two guineas) to be paid to Mr. B. Lintott, at the Cross Keys between the Temple Gates in Fleet-street, and to receive from him receipts for the same, before the end of January next; at which time the subscription will be shut up. All persons may be assured that no books will be printed in the large volume, with the same ornaments of graving, or upon royal paper, except just the number that shall be then subscribed for." *Original Spectator*, No. 632, Dec. 4, 1714.

P. 317. In 1730 appeared "*Atterburyana*; or, Select Pieces, by the late Bishop of Rochester. Published by his Son. With other Miscellanies. Printed for J. Wilford."

P. 323—338. In the Collection of Bishop Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence are many entertaining letters to

* Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. I. p. 196.

M. Thiriot, the intimate friend of Voltaire; in the last edition of whose works are above an hundred letters to this M. Thiriot, who was allowed to dine with Voltaire every day, during his imprisonment in the Bastile, for six months, 1725, just before Voltaire came to England, where he was so well received, and got a very large and liberal subscription to his *Henriade*, and lived much with Lord Peterborough and Lord Bolingbroke. I will take occasion to add, that Thiriot was in correspondence for thirty years with the great King of Prussia, but never received from that Monarch any thing but compliments. Dr. WARTON.

P. 348, note, l. 1. r. "George II."

P. 353. note, l. 21. This diploma, with the "elegant Letter from Dr. Courayer," p. 104, note, l. 2, was printed in four folio pages: as was his "*Oratio habita in Theatro Sheldoniano apud Oxonienses, quint. id. Julii, 1733,*" in nine quarto pages; in which he says, "*Vix mihi unquam pollicitus fuisset aliquando videre Vos, Vos alloqui, &c.*—*Æquum erat de tot vestris in me meritis publicas referre gratias, V. D. et quanquam hoc officio jam olim, aliquâ ex parte, litteris meis defunctus sim, puderet me non citius eas vivâ voce renovasse,*

Si me Fata meis sivistent ducere vitam

Auspiciis, et sponte meâ componere cutas."

P. 376. Last line, after *Dutchess of Buckingham*, add, "from whom the Bishop received an annuity of 300l."

P. 380. l. 24, for "*Waters,*" r. "*Walter.*"

P. 386. "There are in Italy and elsewhere some dozens of black, ugly Madonnas, which all pass for the work of St. Luke's hands, and as such are revered. The origin of this fable, or rather mistake, appears to be, that, about the time that paintings of holy subjects came into fashion, there lived at Constantinople a painter called Luke, who, by many representations of the Virgin, acquired a very transcendent reputation. He was a man of exemplary life, and, on account of his piety, and the edifying use he made of his talents, was generally known by the name of Holy Luke. In process of time, when the epocha and circumstances of his life were forgotten by the vulgar, and his performances had acquired by age a smoky, dusky cast, sufficient to perplex the short-sighted connoisseurs of those days, devotees ascribed his pictures to the Evangelist, who was pronounced a painter, because they knew of no other saint of the name, and because, if he had been a painter, no one could have had such opportunities of examining and delineating the features of the holy model." SWINBURNE.

P. 405. l. 13. r. "Mrs. Morice."

P. 414. Another of Mr. Morice's sisters was the mother of the Rev. Mr. Cracherode, a Curator of the British Museum, and one of the politest scholars of the present age.

P. 423, l. 18, r. "defer."

P. 427, note, l. 20, for "Edward," r. "Edmund."
l. 22, r. "third" volume.

P. 428. This letter was written in May, or June.

P. 463. l. 9, r. "Aug. 9."

VOLUME III.

P. 20, l. 3, Of Francis, only son of Mr. Morice by the Bishop's daughter, see vol. I. p. 512.

P. 23. The gentleman who here "withdraws himself" means only the withholding an annuity which had been given to the Bishop by the worthy Baronet noticed in vol. V. p. 107. Sir John Dolben was Visitor of Baliol College, Oxon, 1730.

P. 40. note, l. 2, r. See vol. III. p. 156.

P. 75. l. 7. It is to be wished, that Mr. Pope had attended to this judicious admonition of his friend.

P. 103. note, l. 11, r. See vol. II. p. 361.

P. 110. note; for "see above, p. 415;" r. see an account of the Duke of Wharton amongst the "Additions" to the Fifth Volume.—Mr. Christopher Pitt, in his Dialogue between a Poet and his Servant, says,

"Some folks are drunk one day, and some for ever,

"And some, like Wharton, but twelve years together."

His Grace became of age Dec. 19, 1719; and took his seat in the House of Peers for the first time Dec. 21. Philip earl of Malmesbury, his first child, died an infant, March 1, 1719-20.

P. 112. In Ballard's Collection of Letters (XV. 57. 59. 61, 62,) are some particulars of Dr. Brett. He is said (ib. 63,) to be turned Papist; writes (ib. 64) to the Archbishop of Canterbury about resigning his living; draws up (ib. 65. 71.) a vindication of himself; deserts the Church (ib. 65. 71); and forms a separate congregation (ib. 73).

P. 124. Dr. John Burton, fellow of Eton college, published a complete vindication of the authenticity of this invaluable history of Clarendon; a history written with almost unparalleled dignity of style and manner, though perhaps in some instances leaning to a partiality for the character of his unfortunate, but unwise, master. It has been very lately proved, that there were some omissions made in the Oxford edition of this history. Dr. WARTON.

P. 140,

P. 140, l. 1, r. "To Mrs. Panton."

P. 176. To the testimonials of the character of Atterbury *
a learned friend has added these which follow :

Alfop's Odes, p. 62.

Henrico Bridges, [Archidiacono Roffensi.]

Téne Roffensis vocitabo lumen

Præfulis, lumen vigil & fidele?

Perhaps the following will be more to the purpose :

Ode XXIII. Johanni Freind, p. 78.

Sin velint Divi uberius beare

Par Amicorum, venerandus adsit

Ille, quem vestit, melius merentem,

Infula Roffæ.

Serias inter bonus ille curas

Misceat risum, et faciles lepores,

Perpelim felix, patiensque dici.

Noster Amicus !

P. 283, add to the note, "But Poets, we know, have great licence allowed them."

P. 287. l. 5, "With thee would live, with thee would die."]
This very thought, on a much more deserving subject, is finely expressed by one, who (I believe) never so much as heard of Horace, an old Welsh bard, whose literal translation from his native guttural runs thus :

"Let the world to them be given,

"Who the world prefer to heaven ;

"But though all should me forsake,

"Friends, and health, and comfort take ;

"Yet would I contented be,

"With no other friend than THEE."

So we see, that while "Nature and Passion are eternal,"
Common Sense and its sensations are universal †.

P. 297. The late Rev. David Scurlock promised to give me, from his parchment-book, a Poem by Atterbury, of 30 lines, beginning with "Religion, chiefest good," &c. and ending with "his breath;" but died before he had an opportunity of transcribing them.

P. 301. I can hardly believe that this rude and illiberal "Panegyric, 1731," was written by the Bishop, unless his Lordship was as coarse in his manners as, it seems, he was violent in his resentment. I should rather suspect it to have been by Mr. Sam Wesley, as, besides his choleric disposition,

* See also vol. II. p. 249; and vol. V. p. 263.

† The Critic in Gent. Mag. vol. L. IV. p. 434.

I have been told, he was as ill-bred as he was haughty. His character in the poem, intituled, "Tiverton," by one of his flagellated scholars, has drawn him in two lines at full length*.

P. 302. The edition of the "Lusus Westmonasteriensis," in 1730, was published by R. Price. In a subsequent edition, I have since found Atterbury's epigram; see it, vol. V. p. 210.

P. 312, l. 14, add in a note: This was in a debate on the Test Act. See the Political State for December, 1718.

P. 329. After reading this "Elegy" on the Bishop, I am convinced, the "Panegyric" (just mentioned) is by a priest. I do not mean "a gentleman in orders," but I mean that this writer was neither a poet nor a gentleman; and a very little of either, I think, was possessed by Sam. Wesley. In a letter from Lord Orrery to old Southerne, enquiring after him, it is said, that "he must be at a great distance indeed if you do not hear him laugh."—So famous he was for a *cachinnus* †.

P. 336. The "Ode printed by Curll" is admirable, though I cannot say I much relish contemporary or posthumous compliments. They commonly partake of the nature and meanness of flattery, and should only be allowed to scribblers and fops at the tea-table ‡.

P. 341. Mr. Theobald was misinformed in respect to the rectory of Hitcham. The Freinds possessed the manor, but not the advowson, to which the King regularly presents on the nomination of Eton College. The present rector is my respectable friend the Rev. Thomas Pulton, M. A. to whom I am indebted for the following particulars, extracted from the registers of his parish.

"The family of Clarke sold the advowson to Dr. George Evans, as appears by memorandums on the cover of the old Registers, &c. and the following extracts:

Sir Francis Clarke, knt. and patron of the church of Hitcham, was buried the 20th of March, and died the 18th of the same month, 1631.

The perpetual advowson of this rectory was bought of Queen Elizabeth, on the 22d of January, in the second year of her reign, by Thomas Hopkins, of Ingleham, in the county of Berks, and William Cox; and sold by them, the 24th of the same January, to Elizabeth Clark, of Hitcham, widow; and hath been in the Clarks of Hitcham ever since till it came to Sir Charles Doe and son John Doe, and from them to me. The deed of sale to the widow I have in my little trunk. No signature; (George Evans, D. D. Rector,

* The Critic in Gent. Mag. vol. LIV, p. 434.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

intended.)

intended.) Again (by reference) "Look in the old Register, first on the commencement, and the first page, how the parsonage of Hitcham came first to the lord of the manor, and how it came to be disjoyned again."

Elizabeth Clark, widow of Nicholas Clark, did, during her widowhood, purchase the perpetual advowson of Hitcham parish parsonage of Mr. Thomas Stephens de Ingletham, Berks, and Mr. William Cox, the 24th of January, in the second year of Queen Elizabeth; and the said Stephens and Cox had purchased it two days before of the Queen: so that the proprietors of the manor of Hitcham never had the advowson till the beginning of Queen Elizabeth. The said Elizabeth Clark, heiress of squire Ramsey, lord of the manor, transmitted the advowson, with the manor, to her son sir William Clark; and so, by degrees, it came to sir Charles Doc, who, in his sale of Hitcham estate, divided the manor again (as it had been formerly) from the perpetual advowson of the rectory of Hitcham. I have deeds to make this all good. George Evans.

George Evans *, D. D. canon of Windfor, and rector of this place, died the 2d of March, 1701, and was buried the 6th of the same month; and the following character of him is given in his epitaph in this church †:

"M. S.

Georgii Evans, S. T. P.

qui Carolo 2do regnis suis restituto 1660,
Regiæ Libellæ Capellæ de Windfor factus est Canonicus;
& anno 1667, hujus Ecclesiæ Rector.

Obiit 2^o die Martii, An. Dom. 1701, ætatis 73.

Optimum Conjugem, Parentem, Virum,
Cum morum integritas, cum pietas Deo,
Chara cum frequentia deprecantium vota
A forte mortali nequeant vindicare
Vitam; mortemque æquius æstimare

Discite superstites."

Dr. Thomas Evans, fellow of Eton College, patron of this rectory, and son of Dr. George Evans, formerly rector of this church, was buried on the 24th day of January, 1733 ‡.

* Dr. Evans was rector 34 years; and bought the advowson as above.

† Published in Monumenta Anglicana by Le Neve, vol. I. p. 24, from a MS. that the Author received from Bishop Fleetwood, who succeeded Dr. Evans in his canonry. Walker, in Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 120, mentions Dr. Evans's being Fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge or Oxford. He was also Curate of St. Bennet Fink in May 1663.

‡ Dr. Thomas Evans gave the advowson of the Rectory in trust to Eton College.

Sir Charles Doe died 1st November, 1671, and was buried the 2d day of the same month.

Jonas Doe (late of Hitcham house), was buried the 23d day of May, 1678.

The manor seems now to have gone to the family of Nicholas, as by entry.

Edward Nicholas, esq: lord of the manor of Hitcham, 21st of May died, and was buried on the 23d of the same May, 1696.

Edward Nicholas, esq: lord of the manor of Hitcham, died in France; and was buried at Hitcham the 28th of May, 1700.

I find no more of Nicholas. When Dr. Freind purchased I cannot make out; but it could not be long after.

Dr. John Freind, lord of this manor, and first physician to her Majesty Queen Caroline, was buried on the 2d of August, 1728.

Mrs. Ann Freind, widow, relict of Dr. John Freind, lord of this manor, was buried Sept. 21, 1737.

John Freind, esq; lord of the manor, was buried April 8, 1750.

Robert Freind, esq. buried in the chancel Jan. 25, 1780.

The family of Freind have lately sold the manor to Lord Grenville, who has a house in the neighbourhood."

P. 331, note, r. "He was appointed to this Deanry Aug. 28, and installed Sept. 27, 1711."

P. 360. Mr. Charles Osborn was the eldest son of sir John Osborn, of Chicksand, bart. and died in 1718.

P. 383. A more correct copy of the Bishop's Speech in the House of Lords will be given in the Appendix, No. III.

At Halling-house, on the western banks of the river Medway, three miles south of Rochester, there remained, till about the year 1720, in a niche on the outside of the chief door, a stone statue of Haymo de Hethe, dressed in his episcopal robes; about two feet high, and elegantly finished. It was then blown down by a storm, but luckily escaped damage by falling upon some grass; and was, by the late Dr. Thorpe of Rochester, preserved, and presented to Dr. Atterbury, then Bishop of that see. Q. Whether the statue is now in being, or whether it has been engraved?

In May, 1680, there was a Mr. John Atterbury, a painter, in Angel-court, Throgmorton-street.—Mr. Thomas Atterbury was Clerk of the Cheque to the Messengers at Westminster about 1688.—John Atterbury, near the Exchange, died intestate Dec. 1729. Administration granted to his niece.

VOLUME IV.

P. 107: "The Right Honourable the Lord Cutts his speech to the Mayor and Corporation of Newport, at his Majesty's Castle of Carisbrook, in the Isle of Wight, upon the swearing of Captain Thomas Read into the Office of Mayor, according to the annual Custom and Charter of the Corporation," was printed in 1690, a single sheet, folio.

"The Lord Cutts had a grant, from the King, of the estate of Mr. Caryll, secretary to the late Queen in France. The estate was in Suffex, and worth about 2000*l.* a year. Mr. Caryll had been allowed to retain the profits, till, being accused of having, with his own hand, paid 800*l.* to buy horses, arms, &c. for the assassination of the King, he was outlawed, and his estate given to Lord Cutts." *Post Boy*, May 23, 1696.

Lord Caryll, by his adherence to king James, forfeited a considerable estate in Suffex; which was granted to Lord Cutts by King William; but, at the particular request of King James, was restored to the Caryll family on payment of 10,000*l.* to Lord Cutts. This anecdote Mr. Caryll told Sir Merick Burrell, from whom the late Sir William Burrell has recorded it in his *Suffex Collections* *.

On the 3d of July, 1696, Lord Cutts set out for Dublin; and was married Feb. 4, 1696-7, to Madam Pickering, daughter of Sir Henry Pickering, a very considerable heiress in Cambridgeshire. He went to Flanders June 2, 1697; and, on the first of September his Lady was delivered of a son. Dr. Watts has a Poem on Lord Cutts, in *Johnson's Poets*, vol. LV. 115.

P. 206, note, l. 8, 9, r. "John Gregory, M. A. archdeacon of Gloucester," and "Dr. Aldrich."

P. 207. Lady Pickering, of Cambridgeshire, is believed to have been the second wife of Sir Gilbert Pickering, who died in 1668, daughter of John Pepys, of Cottenham, in the said county. She had indeed no children; and her husband's second daughter, by his first wife Elizabeth, married John Creed, and Frances died unmarried. But his second son, Gilbert, had a daughter, Elizabeth, aged 12 in 1681. If for 1681 we could read 1691, she would be 18 in 1697, and consequently the lady enquired after, be *great* grand-daughter to Lady Pickering.

P. 255. If I do not forget, Mr. J. Wesley told me that his father (the old rector of Epworth in Lincolnshire) drew up

* MSS. 5689, in the British Museum.

“ Dr. Sacheverell’s speech,” and *one* he might; but I think this is too refined, pathetic, and masterly, for a man, who, at best, with a mediocrity of parts, seems to have had few ideas of elegance or sentiment*.

P. 339. Dr. Grant (once rector of St. Dunstan in the West), who was in attendance as Prebendary of Rochester when Bishop Atterbury visited that Cathedral, takes notice, in a letter to Dr. Denne, of the visitations of both Spratt and Atterbury. The Sermon to the Clergy of the Deanry of Rochester was preached by Mr. Doyley, Vicar of St. Nicholas, who is mentioned in the Epistolary Correspondence between Bp. Atterbury and Dr. Wall; and the Prelate himself preached in the pulpit of St. Margaret’s, the other parochial church in that city. It is somewhat extraordinary that Atterbury should have postponed so long the visiting of his Diocese, particularly as his predecessor had not reviewed his clerical corps for many years. But Atterbury’s political notions and plans outweighed his episcopal duties; and galling and of long continuance was the penalty he paid for not studying to be quiet, and to mind his most important business. And while he wished to be distinguished as a Tory of the upper class, and a Jacobite, he doubtless termed himself an *honest* man. In the Charge extolled by the compiler of Brief Memoirs, p. xxxiv, it is suggested, that “ he was less concerned on this account (the not having an earlier personal intercourse with his Clergy) because his diocese was small, and because he was satisfied that the Clergy over whom he presided were as *honest*, regular, and orthodox a body of men as any in the kingdom. The epithet *honest*, *primâ facie*, when applied to Clergymen, affords but a negative kind of praise, as intimating that they were not felons, larcenists, or swindlers; but the case really was, the charger meant to announce to the world that his Clergy coincided with him in political tenets; and *honest* was a word so used to the end of the reign of George the Second at convivial meetings, when the whole party were willing to quaff a bumper to the King over the Water, and to join in the chorus of “ The King shall have his own again.” Qu. Was not *honest* in this sense a translation of *Boni Cives*, which so often occurs in the Works of Cicero, when praising his own party, the Aristocratic Senators who were inimical to the rights and privileges of the Romans in general†? S. D.

P. 401. The Bishop’s petition to the House of Lords, against the violence used in searching his person while in the Tower, was absolutely a reproach to a civilised nation.

* The Critic in Gent. Mag. vol. LIV. p. 435.

† See Middleton’s Life of Cicero, vol. I. and Hooke’s Roman History, vol. VIII. in sundry pages.

VOLUME V.

P. 68, note 2, r. "Gastrell."

P. 103, note, l. 7, r. "an octavo edition."

P. 78. l. 4, r. "to induce Cardinal Fleury."

P. 111. The reflection in lines 10, 11, was illiberal, and undeserved.

P. 177. Mr. Shippen was a native of Cheshire; represented Bramber, Saltash, and Newton, co. Lancaster; had a paternal estate of 400l. a year, but a fortune of 70,000l. by his wife, daughter and coheiress of Sir Richard Stote, knt. of Northumberland. For a short period he had apartments in Holland house, whence he dates several of his letters to Bp. Atterbury, with whom he maintained a constant correspondence during his exile. And Mr. Morrice mentions him, in one of his letters, as a person who continued fixed in his principles, or, as he expresses himself, *as honest as ever**. His usual place of abode was London; in the latter period of his life, in Norfolk-street; and his house was the rendezvous for persons of rank, learning, and abilities; his manner was pleasing and dignified; and his conversation was replete with vivacity and wit. He and Sir Robert had always a personal regard for each other. He was frequently heard to say, "Robin and I are two honest men; he is for King George, and I for King James; but those men with long cravats (meaning Sandys, Rushout, Gibbon, and others) only desire places, either under King George or King James." By the account of those who have heard him in the House of Commons, his manner was highly energetic and spirited, as to sentiments and expression; but he generally spoke in a low tone of voice, with too great rapidity, and held his glove before his mouth. His speeches usually contained some pointed period, which peculiarly applied to the subject in debate, and which he uttered with great animation †.

P. 254, l. 8, r. "Willesden."—No Memoirs of Dr. Altham are prefixed to his Sermons.

* See before, p. 120.

† Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. I. p. 672; where see farther particulars of him.

APPENDIX, N^o I.

Remarks on a Passage in a Letter from Bishop ATTERBURY to POPE, in which he refers to an Epistle of CICERO to ATTICUS, that mentions his Country Neighbours, ARRIUS and SEBOSUS.

ATTERBURY's letter is dated Bromley, October 15, 1721; and, in the present Collection, is numbered cclxxiv. The passage alluded to is, "Arrii et Sebofi, characters which Tully paints so well in his Epistles; and, since I have named these gentlemen, and the book is not far from me, I will turn to the place." But in no edition of Pope's Works, nor in any other book in which Atterbury's Letters have been published, is the Epistle to Atticus more directly marked. And at the same time curiosity is awake, in order to discover what may have been the Bishop's real opinion of his visitors from the neighbourhood of Bromley House, and what might have been the train of his own thoughts, that reminded him of this particular epistle. Some reflections, therefore, on these two points shall be submitted to the Reader's consideration.

When Atterbury mentioned only one epistle, it did not occur to him, as it has been observed¹, that Arrius and Sebosus are noticed in the 14th and 15th letters of the Epistles to Atticus, Book II. The Editor has given a translation of an interesting part of the 14th Epistle²; but it is clear that it was the 15th Epistle to which the Bishop chiefly referred, wherein Cicero complains of *the too civil, but impertinent interruption these country neighbours gave him*. "Cum hoc maximè scriberem, ecce tibi Sebosus, nondum plenè ingemueram; salve, inquit Arrius. Hoc est Roma decedere? Quos ego homines effugi, cum in hos incidi? Ego vero in montes patrios, et ad incunabula nostra pergam. Denique, *si solus non potuero, cum rusticis potius, quam cum his suburbanis.*" Though Atterbury, who was a very competent judge, makes so favourable a report of Tully's delineation of these characters, neither of the epistles is, as I believe, mentioned by

¹ Epistolary Correspondence, Vol. II. p. 119.

² Ibid. Note.

his elegant biographer; and, should they not be referred to by "*Bellendenus in de tribus luminibus Romanorum*," it will add a little weight to the suspicion that Middleton borrowed his plan, but without candidly acknowledging the obligation, from this very scarce book¹. Be this surmise, however, groundless, I must repeat, that it was the 15th Epistle that had made the great impression on the Bishop's memory; and the chief question is, whether there was any such parallelism in the respective situations and views of Cicero and Atterbury, as might lead the Prelate to apply the Epistle to his own case.

Not improbable is the conjecture that Atterbury might imagine there was a strong resemblance in sundry instances between him and Cicero; a conceit that seems to have been countenanced by his friends and admirers, and is glanced at by an unknown writer, who was not disposed to flatter him². In the verses quoted in a former volume, and attributed to the Duke of Wharton, we meet with these lines³:

"As o'er the swelling Ocean's tide
 "An exile Tully rode,
 "The bulwark of the Roman State,
 "In act, in thought a God⁴."

And, in the last letter except one (dated April 10, 1723), written by Pope to Atterbury before his departure, he recommends it to him to think of Tully in his banishment, intimating, that it was not the disgraced part of the Life of Tully. But the exiles of Cicero and of Atterbury, and their behaviour under a sentence to which they exposed themselves, not from genuine patriotism, but from a spirit of party, and

¹ See Appendix to Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 513, note.

² Epistolary Correspondence, vol. III. p. 213; Epistle in the name of G. Kelly:

"Since none, not I, thy deeds who fondly view,
 Can trace a parallel exactly true,
 (Though long my darling passion I have nurs'd)
 Betwixt the Second Tully and the First;
 This parallel the envious Whigs deride,
 And rudely treat at once thy parts and pride.
 Yet all this truth confess, ev'n Whigs thy foes,
 Thy rhimes like Tully's are, howe'er unlike thy prose."

³ Ibid. p. 313.

⁴ The like profane expression is applied to the Roman Orator by Petrarch, who, in a letter to Boccace, when commenting on the ignorance of his age, asks, "But what can men of letters alledge, who are guilty of the same error, who condemn Plato and Aristotle, make a mock of Socrates and Pythagoras, and despise Cicero, that God of Eloquence?" From Life of Petrarch, by Mrs. Dobson, vol. II. p. 465.

for interested purposes, imagining that if their parties were triumphant, it would be to their honour and profit, being incidents subsequent to the dates of the Epistle and Letter under review, they need not be more particularly noticed, than as introductory to the supposed similarity of the characters of these men of renown.

Both Cicero and Atterbury were illustrious for eloquence; and might it not be from their consciousness of their oratorical powers, and the use to which this talent has been very often converted, and sometimes perverted, that they were stimulated to endeavour to gratify to the utmost their ambitious views? Cicero obtained for a year the highest office in the republic of which he was a member, and endeavoured afterwards to have the lead in the Senate from the station assigned him on the Consular Bench. Atterbury was also raised to an office of pre-eminence; and some have thought he might have acquired the highest department in the Church, had not the death of Queen Anne intervened. And those who are conversant in the Memoirs of this Prelate will possibly admit that the opinion of the late Earl of Orford concerning Lord Granville will not be quite inapplicable to Atterbury, that it was

“ His wish to counsel Monarchs, or controul;

“ His means—th’ impetuous ardour of his soul¹.”

Cicero and Atterbury being thus from choice immersed in politics, it followed almost of course, that they became zealous partizans. That Cicero was a thorough party man is shewn by Hooke², and seems to have been allowed by Middleton, widely as these two authors differ in their sentiments upon the principles and conduct of the Roman orator. And of the inflexibility of the party spirit of Atterbury many proofs may be collected from the Memoirs of his Life. One shall be particularly noticed; it occurs in the advice he gave to Lord Harcourt on the letter the Chancellor was addressing to the King on his accession, which was, to write to his Majesty, not merely as a single person, but in some measure as the *Head of an Interest*³. He expressed his wish that his Lordship would do this, and promised to have taken the proper steps to have enabled him, had not the disinclination of the Chancellor induced him to be silent upon the subject. From this mark

¹ See the Works of Horatio Walpole, Earl of Orford, vol. I. p. 31.

² Roman History. vol. VI. p. 132, note, and vol. VIII. pp. 93, 94.

³ Epistolary Correspondence, vol. II. p. 44.

of an interest, *i. e.* of party-zeal, the deduction is not forced, that even the prejudices of Atterbury, powerful as they were in favour of the direct line of the Stuarts, notwithstanding the head of it was a bigoted Papist, would have subsided, could he and his party have maintained the same influence in the Cabinet of a King of the House of Brunswick, that they had possessed in the preceding reign. The political manœuvres of Bolingbroke were under the same bias; and, had he enjoyed the smiles of the Court, his prepossessions towards the exiled Prince would not have remained. And, supposing this statement not to be deemed chimerical, may it not, without a breach of truth, be averred of these party-friends, that they may be placed in the list facetiously portrayed by the truly honest and consistent Shippen¹; of the gentlemen "with long crayats, who only desired places under King George or King James²."

The parties to which Cicero and the Bishop had attached themselves could not withstand the efforts of their competitors; and very remote was the prospect of their recovering power. But they became industrious and violent oppositionists, and wished to have it understood that all the evils impending would be the result of their dismissal. We find Cicero complaining again and again, that the Republic was at its last gasp, nay absolutely ruined, from the want of confidence in those *boni cives* with whom he had been long associated; though repeatedly, in his Letters to Atticus, he expresses his contempt of them, terming them *Piscinarii*, who, if the Republic was lost, would be satisfied if their fish-ponds were safe, and whose very high ambition was to bring the mullets to be fed from the hands of the owners³; and, citing from memory a line of a Greek Poet, he says, that *some of these Senators were good for nothing, and others cared for nothing*⁴.

For two of the spring months, when he wrote these letters, Cicero judged it expedient to leave Rome, and to pass them

¹ See before, pp. 120. 315.

² Ad Att. Epist. L. II. Ep. vii. Cupio istorum naufragia ex terra tueri.

— Epist. xxii. Mutationis spes nulla.

— Ep. xx. Nunc quidem novi quodam morbo civitas moritur; ut, cum omnes ea quæ sunt acta improbent, querantur, doleant, varietas in pulia re sit, aperteque loquantur, et jam clare gemant, tamen medicina nulla afferatur.

— Epist. xxi. Respublica tota perit.

³ *Piscinarii*—Jam nostri qui idem ita sunt stulti, ut amissa republica piscinas suas fore salvas sperare videantur. Ep. ad Att. lib. I. Ep. xviii. Nostri autem principes digito se cælum putent attingere, si multi barbati in piscinis sint, qui ad manum accedant. Lib. II. Ep. I.

⁴ Nam, ut ait Rhinton, ut opinor,

Οἱ μὲν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄνθρωποις, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς μέγα. L. I. Ep. xx.

in his country villa, where he had his choice and delightful collection of books¹, an innuendo implying what was affectation in him, that he should employ his hours of retirement in serious studies. But his thoughts were too much engrossed with politics to bear their being thus widely and usefully diverted: he even explicitly mentions his being averse to writing, and that he could only count the waves. Had there not been so long an interstice as is noticed by Melmoth² in the correspondence between Cicero and his familiar friends, more proofs might have been adduced of the restlessness of his mind; but it appears, from one of the Epistles to Atticus already cited, that, disinclined as he was to writing, he gave full scope to his chagrin, in drawing up Anecdotes, or a Secret History of the Times, in the style of Theopompus, the most satirical of all writers, and that he was even more bitter in his invectives³. What a prostitution of the pen of a philosopher of such abilities and acquired attainments, to condescend to be a Party Libeller!

Whilst the Parliament was sitting, the Prelate was assiduous in his attendance, and uniform in his opposition to the Ministers, and, as it is generally believed, most of the virulent protests in the Journals of the House of Lords were composed by him: but, during the recess, he was frequently at Bromley, and, were the 500 letters extant which, he said, were taken from him previously to his commitment to the Tower⁴, and had not Kelly, by the blameable neglect of the Messenger who had him in custody, had an opportunity of burning several letters, more of those written at Bromley would probably have reached us. But, from what have been preserved, glaring is the evidence of a misapplication of his extraordinary talents; and greatly is it to be regretted, that an ingenious and learned Bishop should have so frequently deviated from his professional line.

¹ Epist. ad Att. Lib. II. Ep. vi. Sic enim sum complexus otium, ut ab eo divelli non queam. Itaque aut libris me delecto, quorum habeo Antii festivam copiam; aut fluctus numero. A scribendo prorsus abhorret animus.

² In Letters of Cicero to several of his friends, vol. I. p. 25, Letter V. To Publius Sestius Questor, A. V. 692. Letter VI. To Terentia, to my dearest Tullia, and to my Son, A. V. 695. There is an interval of two years between the dates of these letters: the correspondence which Cicero carried on during the intermediate period being entirely lost, except that which he held with Atticus.

³ Itaque *anecdota*, quæ tibi uni legamus, Theopompino genere, aut etiam asperiore multo, pangentur. Lib. II. Ep. VI.

⁴ From Atterbury's Miscellaneous Works, vol. IV. p. 399.

From Sir Robert Walpole's Confidential Letter to his Brother Horace, published by Mr. Coxe. See the preceding Illustrations, p. 255.

Let us advert to his correspondence with Dr. Wall and others on the order in which the Evangelists are imagined to have compiled the Gospels entitled from them. How tardy was he in his answer to the Doctor! and, though, from the superior deference due to Bishop Potter, he was not equally remiss, his observations were more concise, and not so well digested as they ought to have been; nor did he ever complete the Prospectus he had sketched. There cannot be the least impropriety in citing this instance of neglect in Atterbury; because he laid so much stress himself upon it, as being a subject of great importance; and because he avowed it to be his purpose in his defence to urge his being engaged in this principal work, thus hoping effectually to obviate a suspicion that his time could have been occupied in a treasonable correspondence¹.

Cicero, as has been above-mentioned, had at his villa at Antium a festival library, which, from the splenetic turn of his mind, was of little use to him; and his literary neighbours, (for of this class Arrius, if not Sebosus², certainly was) not aware of his disinclination to their company, and from what cause it proceeded, might please themselves with the expectation of great improvement from conversing with him. But it should seem they were not of a political bent; they probably had attended little to what was passing at Rome, and they might not be anxious to learn whether Pompey, or Cæsar, or any one of Cicero's honest men, was to have the direction and controul of that immense Republican Empire. It is even said by Cicero, that Arrius would not go to Rome, but would spend whole days with him in conversing upon Philosophical subjects: an expression which proves that Cicero could not really entertain an insignificant opinion of his nearest neighbour and former companion; but that the objection to the visits was, that politics was not to be the leading topic of discourse.

To some readers of Atterbury's Epistle to Pope, the stricture of the Bishop on his country neighbours is thought to betray a token of contempt, though it will clearly admit of a less ri-

¹ See Additions and Corrections, p. 301.

² In Epist. ad Att. Edit. Græv. tom. I. p. 240, Not. ad Ep. xiv. Lib. II. *Sebosus*, Fortasse Statius Sebosus, Plin. l. ix. cap. 15. *Corad.* Supposing the Commentator not to be mistaken in his conjecture concerning Sebosus, it appears, from the passage in Pliny, to which the reference is made, that he was a Naturalist of some eminence. It is under the chapter, intituled, *De Nominibus et Naturis Multorum Piscium*. "In Gange Indize Platanistas vocant, rostro delphini et cauda magnitudine autem xv cubitorum. In eodem esse Statius Sebosus haud modico miraculo affert, vermes branchiis binis lx cubitorum ceruteos, qui nomen a facie traxerunt."

gorous interpretation. After an interval of almost fourscore years, it may not be possible to trace the names of the gentlemen whom the Bishop had in his view; but it is well known that Bromley and the contiguous parishes, as well from their little distance from the Metropolis, as that they are in a very pleasant part of the county of Kent, have always had in them many respectable inhabitants, and that in some of the elegant villas in that district there have generally been persons of cultivated minds and polished manners. But the dissatisfaction and the pettishness doubtless originated with Atterbury himself. His near neighbours might not have been politicians, or at least were not the honest men of his own persuasion. And, from a perusal of his Memoirs, we may venture to infer, that there might be days on which he would have been happy to have pretended an excuse for not dining with some of his guests¹, not even with a Poet of more improved talents than one noticed in a former volume². And that, in the year 1721, while Illington, alias Jones, was indicting letters to Chivers, Musgrave, Jackson, Johnson, and other fictitious names, had there at that period been a Gilbert West³ resident at West Wickham, a visit from him would have been termed over-civil and impertinent, and have brought to the Bishop's recollection Arrius and Sebosus.

¹ From the Bishop of Rochester to Mr. Pope, Sept. 27, 1722. "I am now confined to my bed-chamber, and to the matted room wherein I am writing, seldom venturing to be carried down even into the parlour to dinner, unless when company to whom I cannot excuse myself comes, which I am not ill pleased to find is now very seldom."

² Epistolary Correspondence, vol. II. Edit. 1789, p. 60. Lett. ccxlix. To Mr. Prior. Atterbury mentions a poetical neighbour, quoting, in a tetraëtic, a Paraphrase upon some lines of Virgil's Eclogues.

³ Mr. West lived at West Wickham when he composed the deservedly approved "Observations on the History and Evidence of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ;" and it was in this retirement where he and his friends, who often visited him from the busy world, held together the most delightful converse of wit, humour, learning, &c. Biogr. Dictionary, vol. XII. p. 477. To the perpetual renown of this exemplary lay-man* of Reason and Religion, it is mentioned, upon good authority, that, towards the latter part of his life, he wholly applied himself to the study of the Scriptures, being extremely anxious to try his utmost endeavours to reconcile the seeming inconsistencies which gave the enemies to Revealed Religion a handle to doubt and discredit the authenticity of them; feeling in these researches the highest satisfaction, and often expressing that light broke in upon his mind, and discovered divine truths which fitted him with the strongest hopes that his pleasing labours might prove a benefit to mankind. But it pleased the Almighty, and Wise Disposer, to put an end to them and to his life at the age of fifty years."

* See Introduction to Observations on the Resurrection, pp. xii. xiv.

APPENDIX, N° II.

Letters from a JACOBITE SPY* to HORACE WALPOLE, when
 Ambassador at PARIS; now first printed from the Originals.

LETTER I.

SIR,

From March 30 to April 3, 1726.

I HAVE had a long and private conversation with Lord Sempill upon the present juncture of affairs, and what advantages would occur to the Pretender's interest from them. He seemed satisfied, by the dictates not only of his own reason, but that of the Bishop and others, that the Emperor and King of Spain had it in their power to restore him; alledging "that it was the only card they had to play to serve themselves, and that with that they would commence the war; otherwise, he did believe, the Government of England had it in their power to prevent it: That both the Court of Vienna and Madrid seem to be of the same opinion; and made no doubt but they have taken their measures accordingly, though they acted with all the caution and secrecy imaginable; not believing that the Chevalier himself knew the plan they were to go upon; which gives him the better opinion of the success of it, as his matters stood." Your Excellency will remark that young Sempill is the Bishop's scribe.

I told him, in answer to this, "that I was informed by three several hands," and mentioned Gardner as one, "that there was something in agitation regarding the Chevalier." I spake this of myself, to screw some more lights from him, and draw him to particulars.

To which he replied, "that he was sorry to hear a whisper of that kind, believing it to come from Mar and Dillon's faction, who imagined, by suggestion, that there was, or would be,

* The name of the Spy was John Sample; of whom see vol. II. p. 298. He was an Irishman; and occasionally signs himself La Fontaine.

something undertaken for the Chevalier, and, because they were not at the bottom of it, were resolved, by talking, to put the Government upon its guard, and to their utmost to prevent it;" which they have been accustomed to, either with a design, or by indiscretion, and even when the Chevalier's affairs were in their own hands; "but," says he, "so little of the matter as I know, I know Gardner knows nothing; though indeed I am afraid his uncle Morgan scribbles, who is now in Spain with the Duke of Ormond, who has always had to do with such foolish people. [Gardner did say something like it.] I would, says he, have you tell the Bishop this paragraph, it being of more consequence than you may imagine; and I desire of you never to speak to any one matters of this kind; and, when any one insinuates the like to you, seem to be of another opinion; otherwise, if the Chevalier comes to hear it, you will not only lose his favour, but that of the Duke of Ormond, the Bishop, and all the rest of his friends; and you may be sure, says he, that the Government has their spies in all quarters, who would take the greatest advantage upon such whispers, though groundless, perhaps, at the bottom." [He did not imagine how little I valued them or their favours in my heart].

I answered to this, "that I would obey his precepts; and, though satisfied, betwixt him and me, that there was something transacting for the Chevalier, not only at the Court of Vienna and Madrid, but elsewhere, yet, from the many obstacles that I foresaw would arise in the execution, I doubted of the success; for that it was certain, if England apprehended any thing of a war, their fleet would block up all hopes of succour from Spain and the Baltic side. And what could be expected from the Emperor, who had neither convenient ports for embarkment, nor money to carry on and effect such a project?"

He answered, "that he wished there was nothing but money wanting for the execution, which, he was persuaded, would be soon obtained; and that my notion of the fleet blocking up the Baltic and Mediterranean was not well grounded; for it was the Chevalier's friends' interest to wish them at that distance, rather than hovering about the coast; for, says he, when they are out in those seas, the affair will be struck. [Your Excellency will remark, in my last, where the Bishop mentions the fleet going to the Baltic, which he took notice to be a great distance.] Before they can be advertised and come back, 8000 men in England, divided into two bodies,

with

with the Duke of Ormond at the head of them, and 2000 more in Scotland to make a stand while the people of the country joined them, and a feint upon Ireland to keep the troops from being sent out of the country, would so blow the fire over all the three kingdoms, that, in less than six weeks, we should be masters of St. James's Palace, without the Government being able to defend themselves, or obtaining the assistance of their Allies, who, upon such an occasion, would not seem to be too forward in giving it." [I know not if my notion for it is well grounded; but I observe they still seem to have an opinion the French are still their friends: and indeed, to carry the matter farther, that they expect assistance from them; but, whether this is genuine or not, it would be well that the Government would have an eye over them, as if they really thought so.]

I answered, "that there were many difficult points to be adjusted before they came to St. James's Palace; that the kingdom was disarmed, and the Jacobites divided amongst themselves, who, upon the most favourable juncture, would not be brought to declare in taking arms; and the Chevalier's ill conduct at Rome gives them a just handle to shew a coldness to what regards him at home."

He replied, "that as to arms, the Commonalty of England was unprovided; but was assured that 2000 stand could be obtained, and landed in England from Britany in six weeks time, without the Government being advised of it, and at a cheap rate; and, as for the City of London, there were about 6000 lodged in it, some of the money for which has been paid these five years [I heard some time ago, that Green knew where they were, and was the man who furnished them, with another, whose name I do not know, who works for the Tower]. And as for the Jacobites being divided amongst themselves, it was a melancholy reflection, and but too true; but made no doubt but the appearance of a Restoration would unite them as one; and had grounds to believe that his friends at home were in a much better understanding than those abroad. As for his conduct at Rome, says he, alas! that is a thing that grieves us all; but, I hope, it will not obstruct the good that is in agitation for him and us."

In short, I can draw no other construction from this discourse, than that, if a war breaks out, they have assurances that the Courts of Vienna and Madrid are resolved to espouse their quarrel; but how far those Courts are in intelligence with the Pretender's friends I cannot learn, though I have strong ar-

guments to believe their credit but weak ; and, if a war breaks out, the Emperor will pretend to serve him, in order to serve themselves, so that they will king him and unking him, and toss him about like a tennis-ball, and call him from Rome with no view but to send him there again, and all without being able to do you more harm than threats, falling the stocks, and extraordinary expences. As for the Bishop's credit, it is so much exhausted, that he can make none but the poor Duke of Ormond his tool ; though persuaded that he has Wharton and some other such talking emissary and extravagant politicians to propagate his schemes where he thinks there is the most probability of their succeeding in substance, which can be no other than to advise the enemies of his Country and Religion the best manner they can enter upon projects to destroy it.

I am persuaded, your Excellency is informed of the division among the Pretender's friends, not only here, but in all places where they are. The Irish, Scotch, and English of them, seem to have quite different views and ways of thinking, and there are two parties of each Nation ; so that I may justly say there are six parties out of what cannot be called one, the consequence of which can end in nothing but the desolation and extermination of them all. But, if your Excellency is satisfied of the truth of this, form your actions still as if you thought them powerful and able to do harm ; and, although in alliance with France, observe as strict a circumspection as if you was not. They act with all the spirit and caution imaginable ; and I am persuaded they have something in agitation, which I hope to come at the bottom of in a few days ; though I would have your Excellency to be satisfied that neither the Court of Vienna nor Madrid love King George, and especially the former, who will never be at ease till he has lessened his interest and the King of Prussia's in the Empire, and is spirited up to the same by the influence of the Court of Rome and its Emissaries ; as a proof of which, your Excellency will remember the copy of Cardinal Gualtieri's Letter to the Bishop of Waterford *, blaming the division of the Clergy, &c. about the Constitution here, when they ought to take all one part against the common enemies of the Romish Church, especially in the Empire, whose aim was its subversion, and electing a Protestant Emperor, and the establishment of heresy.

* Dr. Thomas Mills was then Bishop of Waterford ; but it is probable that the Catholic or Titular Bishop is here meant.

This letter was written more than twelve months ago. [The Bishop of Waterford is an Irishman, and Arch Priest, a man of good sense and piety.]

I saw a letter from Lord Marischal last post, which mentions his being at Valencia in Spain, and a concern that the Chevalier persists to live separate from his wife at a time when he might have all hopes of finding assistance to go home; he says his brother was then with him, and mentions nothing of his being at Rome.

Mr. Forbes arrived here the 28th of last month, and has been ever since at Chateau with Lord Mar. Forbes came from Rome; he was charged with nothing, but sent away in disgrace.

As to the news in the Dutch Gazette concerning the Chevalier's wife and Prince Sobieski coming to Rome, it is mostly spurious. The truth is thus: that her father has written her a very harsh letter, and condemns her conduct in every step; and desires "she would consider at this time her own interest, her husband, and children, and not create an eternal reproach to herself and family." [This makes the Favourite not a little proud, and I hope they will keep their footing.] After which he sweetens her by saying, "that, in a little time, by the favourable prospect of affairs, and God's assistance, he hopes to see the Chevalier's and her misfortunes at a period, and exhorts her to go and be reconciled." But as for his coming to Rome, there is nothing of it; being assured by Prince Ratzivell, that he is so old and infirm, that he cannot go eight leagues from his own house.

I was with the Bishop, who asked me "if the news still continued, that this Court was going to join with the Emperor, and leave England in the lurch?" I answered, "that it did, and with stronger assurances than ever."

"The people are mad," says he, "and they speak whatever comes in their head; there being no more in it than that the current of this river that runs towards Rouen is changed towards Lyons, though I believe, as I always did, in their hearts they are not inclined to war." "You told me, I think," says he, "that Lord Mar had seen Lord Orrery; which I have been at pains to know the truth of, and find that Lord Orrery never did, nor would he see him; so that Mar lies if he will sustain the contrary, for I have it under Lord Orrery's hand."

He told me "that he had enquired also about Mons. Desten, and believed that his greatest affair was about placing money for those that confided in him." [Those were his words.]

He told me also, "that Abbé Geradin, or Pearce, went to England mostly to get a recommendation from their Royal Highnesses to this Court;" but, as company came in, we were interrupted from proceeding to other particulars. [He got a recommendation, in Sir Robert's time, to the Regent's Mother from the Princes.]

I find the Bishop and General Ruth are constantly together, and more of late than ever; and your Excellency will remark, that he was Lord Orrery's favourite also, and is a great man with Mons. De Torcy. I shall let you know more of this. I am ashamed to tell you that I, by necessity, have been extorted to draw another 25l. bill [by the name of Williams] upon your Excellency; which, for the last time, I most humbly beg your goodness to pay; and you may be assured that I shall omit no opportunity to deserve it and the other favours I have received from you. I beg also that you will consider that money is very low here, and all necessaries of life extravagantly dear.

LETTER II.

April 29, 1726.

FINDING your Excellency not to return so soon as I expected, I here send the following advices, which I hope you will receive before you leave London.

I have seen Obrian several times, the last of which I met Mr. Carte the Clergyman, who, I am informed, is soliciting money for the printing a treasonable pamphlet he has been concerned in drawing up, adapted to the present exigences of Europe, and to excite and ripen his Majesty's subjects to rebellion; and he has actually, they say, received 500 livres for the same, and is to have three more of the Pretender's money. Carte did not begin to visit Obrian but lately,

At another time I met one Captain Obrian there; and the discourse ran on your brother and the Duke of Argyle; Colonel Obrian saying "that your brother attempted to make Argyle king of Scotland, and himself comptroller in chief of both kingdoms."

The other Obrian answered, "that, if his present Majesty was dead, and the Prince in power, your brother and the Duke of Argyle might both be made shorter by the head, finding that neither of them was in his graces."

Obrian answered, "it was not so easy a task to take mens' heads off in England; but that the Prince was looked upon as a passionate hot-headed man, and made no doubt but your brother

brother had taken his measures to tie up his hands from hurting him [those were his words]; and, if he offered to break loose, would have it in his power to lay him aside, and set up Prince William in his stead; by which he would have the government of the kingdom himself, while the child came to age*; and, if he died, have it in his power to make whom he pleased King, or establish a Commonwealth." This is wild discourse; however, I think proper to let you know it.

"But this is talking, Gentlemen," says he, "as if we ever expected to see the House of Hanover in possession of his Majesty's rights; which I hope is not the case, and that the work of Providence will accomplish our wishes, in his Restoration, when we least expect it. Patience and long-suffering have been his and our lot; and I hope they are drawing to a period."

There was much more spoke to this subject, which I thought of no moment to retain.

The last account from Rome was, that Cardinal Alberoni had been to visit the Chevalier [the Chevalier sent for Alberoni], and stayed in conference with him more than two hours, and was remarked to go away with the marks of pleasure and satisfaction in his looks; the construction put upon which is, a speedy reconciliation betwixt the Chevalier and his wife, the Cardinal being a great advocate of hers, and refused visiting the Chevalier while he kept the Favourite about him [they say that he is also reconciled to the Favourite]; though others pretend to divine that the Cardinal's visit is upon another nature, of more consequence [except it is upon Hay's† retiring out of place, and Wharton being made Minister]; which mish-mash of politics I cannot penetrate into; but, to come the more at the bottom of it, I went to the Bishop, and told him the above-mentioned paragraph as coffee-house news.

He answered, "that he had been told Alberoni was to see the Chevalier, but upon what account could not tell;" and then asked me about the Marquis De Mallbois' journey to the Duke of Bavaria's Court with a secret commission from Monsieur

* "On the accession of George the Second the Jacobites abroad and at home founded their principal hopes on the removal of the Minister. The Secretary of Lord Orrery had observed to the exiled Bishop of Rochester, that, if the project to destroy Sir Robert Walpole was successful, he had more hopes of seeing the Chevalier restored, to the satisfaction of himself and subjects, than from any Alberoni, or foreign assistance in the world. Atterbury himself acknowledged "that the King knew his interest too well to encourage any attempts against the Minister." Secret Intelligence from Paris, Sept. 24, 1727; from the Walpole Papers; in Mr. Coxe's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 290.

† Lord Hay, afterwards Duke of Inverness.

le Duke. I answered, "that the Marchal De Leager's page had told me, that Monsf. Mallbois departed the 1st instant, to condole the Duke of Bavaria, on the death of his father, in the name of their Court." The reason why he talked to me of Mallbois' affair proceeds from my telling Sempill of it, who I suppose told him.

"Condole?" "*Console* you mean," says he, "with the views of Empire; and—after some pause—and all to strengthen the treaty of Hanover!" This he spoke with a sneer; which to me appeared, by the ambiguity of his words, that he fancied he was at the bottom of Mallbois' errand.

I answered, "that those secret negotiations looked much like war, though I have heard men of consideration dispute the contrary."

"Those must be Whigs," says he, "knowing that they cannot think but of peace, yet at the same time talk of bombarding the world by sea, and parting it to whom they please by land, without opposition; which is a mighty undertaking." Those were his words, the sense of which I leave to your Excellency to contest. Here we were interrupted by the coming in of Mr. Stewart, who departs the 2d instant for Rome with young Giradon. Stewart has been detained these 14 days, waiting for some advices he was to carry with him, which I suppose, by his now going, are ready.

I must tell your Excellency, that this evening, the 29th of April, Captain Spence, Lieutenant of the Scotch Guard, gave Stewart a private rendezvous at the Hotel de Buffey in the same Rue, where they were together a considerable time before the rest of the company joined them; and when they did, there was nothing but breaking of glasses, and drinking of bumpers to the King of Spain and the Emperor, and the Land of Cakes and its Chief; by which is meant the Pretender and Scotland.

I saw a letter from Monsieur Pourie, French Consul for trade, now at Madrid [the letter was to his son-in-law here, my friend], with two inclosed for Count Porpas, which mention "that there is the greatest prospect of war, though different factions concerning it, the King being inclined for peace, and all his French adherents; but the Queen and Ripperda are bent upon war, and he believes they are most prevalent, and will carry their point; so desires his son-in-law not to count upon his interest in obtaining the King's pardon [his son-in-law killed a man], the French being little esteemed at that Court

Court; and that he may expect to see him in Paris very speedily."

He mentions an article to another person, in the same letter, that is concerned in trade here, "that the French merchants in Cadiz, and other parts of Spain, begin to remove their effects, apprehending that part of the English fleet is designed to attack the galleons of Spain. If so, there will be reprisals made upon them." This rumour, I find, runs much among the Jacobites, who, perhaps, propagate it.

Gardner shewed me another letter from Morgan, in Madrid, which mentions Ripperda being the Pretender's friend, and the agreeable prospect of his affairs; and tells him, "that the Duke of Ormond has given his word for the commission he solicits [I mentioned the commission in my last]; but desires him to be hush upon it, for many reasons that he may conceive himself; and he tells him, in a postscript, that the Duke of Wharton had arrived there some days before, who, by his conduct, seems to have abandoned the Hanover interest for ever." Other accounts say, that he had several conferences with the Duke of Ormond and Ripperda before his arrival was known, and that he had left Madrid for Rome by the way of Alicant two or three days before the last post came away, to talk with Alberoni and the first Minister to the Pretender.

I was with Lord Sempill and his son this evening, who assured me that the Duke of Wharton met Lord North and Orrery at Brussels, who gave him full instructions how to act; and that he passed here, in his way to Madrid, to confer with the Bishop by their directions. I beg your Excellency to remark what Swordsagger told me of his Lord sending Wharton 500*l.* to Venice, and that he was his pupil, and all other particulars I have informed you of concerning this noble Duke, which you will find appear more and more to be genuine. This Keith has confirmed; with farther particulars, that the Court of Vienna had entered into Wharton's scheme to destroy the Hanover succession, and establish the Pretender; and made no doubt but the Court of Madrid would accede to the same,

I answered, "that I believed that there was more noise than matter of moment in it, being afraid that Wharton was so giddy a man that none would put great trust in him."

He answered, "that I was mistaken; he was trusted, and none could ever say but he acted always like a Jacobite in his heart; and now he had pulled off the mask, and shewed himself to be such [this all the Jacobites assert in Wharton's favour];

favour]; and in a few posts I should hear of his being at Rome about the Pretender, which would give great credit to his counsel at this juncture;" but Lord Orrery says, he is the man that directs all; and you may depend upon it that nothing is done but what comes from his channel. They pretend to assert that Wharton wore the blue Garter in Spain, and is to be Secretary of State to the Pretender in the room of Hay.

P. S. I was this morning with Lord Sempill and his son again; who told me that they were informed Wharton went directly from Vienna to Rome, and from thence to Madrid, from which place he returns to Rome again, to appear openly about the Pretender [they seemed not to be sure of his passing this way, though persuaded he was altogether directed by the Bishop]; that he is certainly trusted with the whole secret of the party, and the treason they are acting; and that he is their agent in chief; and received the greatest marks of countenance from the Emperor's Minister and the Marquis Ripperda, with whom he was several times in conference with the Duke of Ormond; though the latter is much condemned, upon the account of keeping one Hamilton about him, whom they believe to be an emissary of the Government.

I told them, "that I was afraid Lord Orrery and the Bishop were not in a good understanding, by what I discovered from Swordfagger."

To which they replied, "that I was mistaken; and that Lord Orrery was well with the Bishop, and joined with him in every particular; and that Swordfagger was a talking silly fellow, and Lord Orrery put words in his mouth to deceive the world [in short, they seemed transported at the favourite prospect they conceived of the Pretender's affairs]; but that they knew he had seen and written frequently to the Bishop while he was in Paris, and wished all the Jacobites and Tories were in as good an understanding with each other at this time as they are upon the whole." [I still have some reason to believe the Bishop and Orrery are not so well as they pretend.] I find they are certainly upon some mischief; and I hope, by a strict watch and circumspection, you will be able to dash it before they can bring it to any ripeness, to which end you may depend upon my endeavours, and by which I hope to give you farther proofs of the sincerity and attachment with which I am

Your Excellency's most devoted, faithful, and obedient servant.

P. S. May

P. S. May 1. These paragraphs I think proper to send you, thinking, perhaps, some of them may be of use.

Stewart's journey is put off for eight days longer, and Captain Spence departed yesterday morning after he was with him at the Hotel de Buffey for England.

I would have your Excellency to have a strict watch upon Sunderland's Coffee-house in Warwick-lane, which is the assembly of the Jacobites; and he is a fellow that was deeply concerned in the last plot; and I am told that the most guilty of them are always lurking there.

The Bishop went out yesterday [he dined at eleven, and went out at one] to meet somebody in the Bois de Bouillon; and it is observed that those of Mar's creatures that would not visit him now throng upon him in numbers, which shews they have hopes of being employed, and that there is something in agitation; and Sir Tobit Burk and Sir Peter Redmond have been frequently with him of late.

Lord Mar, they say, is quite dejected [they say that he cries] and abandoned, except by Dillon and the Irish, Sir Harry Goring, Lord Falkland, and Lansdown.

They pretend to assert, that a reconciliation betwixt the Chevalier and his wife will happen about the middle of this month.

They likewise seem confident that Cardinal Polignac has been most active in it, and had orders from this Court for the same; though, when I told Obrian of it, he assured me it was false; but that may be only a copy of his countenance, to conceal the fact.

The affair of Madame De Toncon is little talked of, though they are still confident she was a spy for England by the channel of Schaub and M. Troughond; though I look upon the latter to be employed by all Courts in the same quality.

I find they are not joyed at the compliments Monsieur le Duke made the Duke of Berwick, viz., "that, if a war happened, he should be General, and chuse his officers and troops;" believing him no real friend to the Pretender.

LETTER III.

Paris, Sept. 20, 1726.

I WAS with the Bishop yesterday, whom I found very busy writing; however, he talked with me a considerable time, the particular of which was, Lord Dunbarton's being sent for to England, as he supposed, to go for Muscovy Ambassador; which he was certain would not answer the end, that Court being

being in so strict an alliance with the Emperor, that nothing can bring them off; and his Imperial Majesty seems really incensed against King George, who will find it a hard task to make up the matter with him; so that, he inferred, his Allies would be of the same temper. He told me, that the Pretender was to arrive at Bologna by the last of this month; and asked me what his friends said of it; he being there almost in the centre of his affairs, that is, ready to go to Germany, Spain, or any other place that Providence may call him to: "Besides," says he, "he is beloved in the place, though I hope his residence will not be long there, believing that he is tired with being abroad; and it is now his study how to get home, which I hope a little time will accomplish; but pray what do they say of the division betwixt him and his wife? and do you find her part is so much taken as it was when the dispute commenced?" I told him, that I heard no one speak about her. "I believe so, says he, and she will certainly perceive in a little time her own folly; and so give up her advisers, to be friends with her husband; the apprehension of which must give Lord Mar and Mr. Dillon some inward concern, though they are both lost without redemption, which will evidently appear to all the world in a little time." He said nothing of Lord Lansdown, which confirms what I have said in regard to his being employed. I told him, "that I was informed your Excellency had given the Bishop of Frijus* a great dinner at Fontainebleau, and that you are constantly in conferences with him." To which he answered, "that he had been told the same, and regarded it as a mark you was not without your apprehension that France might be brought to play you a trick; for it is a thing obvious that no Prince or Nation need be courted to stand by their own interest; and that it should not be thought strange the Bishop of Frijus dined with you, when the Pope's Nuncio had done the same." [He has always a turn to give those things, to beguile the world, and flatter his own fancy.] After this, he took me by the hand, and told me, "that I should find he was not neglectful of my interest, and that a very little time would convince me of it†; so desired I would not be uneasy."

After this, I met Williams, whom I told the heads of what the Bishop had said to me in regard to myself; to which he

* The celebrated statesman, who is better known as Cardinal Fleury, an elevation he obtained, with that of Prime Minister, in 1726. He was then turned of 70; and, till his death, in 1743, manifested a mind in full vigour, and capable of conducting public affairs.

† See vol. II. p. 298.

made answer, "that, if I would be easy, I should do very well; and that I had a commission laid out for me, that would both contribute to my honour and interest, if I executed it as he hoped I would; but what it was he could not tell me these three weeks, having given his word to the Bishop that he would not; but that I might depend upon its being to my advantage." He told me again, "that Lord Lansdown was to meddle in the Pretender's affairs; and that the Bishop would make me well with both him and Lord North, who should condescend in sending me upon the errand I was to go." [I take it to go to Muscovy with the Secretary, and I am sure it is no other.] He mentioned again, "that nothing was more certain than the Chevalier's restoration." I asked him his reasons for thinking so. "Why," says he, "I see the Emperor aims at King George's destruction, who has it not in his power to make it up with him [that King George could not make it up with the Emperor]; so that nothing is more evident than the Chevalier's restoration; and the only obstacle that he thought hindered its happening immediately was, your brother's great capacity in governing, together with his attachment to King George and his House, which he thought unalterable." After this, I left him, to wait on your Excellency.

I saw the Muscovite Secretary the 18th instant, who told me that nothing could be done more in the project till the messenger arrived that they had dispatched, which would be five weeks hence. He likewise told me, that the account they had from the North seemed to apprehend that the Swedes would accede to the treaty of Hanover, which he thought would be no great advantage to the said treaty, that kingdom being so much reduced, that they could no way make themselves of consequence; besides, there was a great party for the Duke of Holstein.

L E T T E R I V.

Paris, Nov. 10, 1726.

[THIS letter begun last night, and finished this afternoon]: I was with one John Minnis this afternoon, who assured me, "that private letters from Spain spoke confidently that the Duke of Ormond was to be sent upon some affair of importance, and that he thought the most probable was to Muscovy, they being the most capable of restoring the Chevalier of any power he knew at present, if they were managed right." [This Minnis is an old politician of the Pretender's, but now attached

tached to Lord Mar. He has a great correspondence, and is a cunning fellow.] And told me also, "that he was informed that Lord Marischal was to be sent here upon a commission of importance; and that he made no doubt but the Chevalier would be restored, though he had no great opinion of the people that he entrusted at present." In short, war is talked of greatly; and every one has it in their mouths of the proposition you made this Court to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive with you, which they rejected, not willing to enter into a war. In this the French think they act right, as they would do if they dropped the Treaty of Hanover; and make no doubt but they will do it if they are pushed much more, believing that the Cardinal had not his cap given him by the Emperor's consent for nothing; and that, in his heart, he is in the Pretender's interest, let him pretend what he will to your Excellency; so, for God's sake, know him.

Williams is sent by the Bishop to Sir Harry; which looks as if they were preparing all their matters to be in readiness; so, for God's sake, look sharp, and find out the bottom of their projects; for I am sure they have some. I will do what I can, but cannot do more than I can; though believe my sincerity, and that I shall always be attached to your brother and you; their wish being your downfall, believing by it King George would not be of long standing. I should be concerned to see the public credit sink; for you cannot imagine how joyful they are at it, thinking your whole existence depends upon it. I was just now with Sempill, who told me, "that he had it from good hands the Duke of Ormond is soliciting to be sent here [and that Lord Marischal was to be sent to Muscovy; but I do not believe that, but rather the Duke of Ormond, because he has been there before] commissioned by the King of Spain, to make a reconciliation between the two Crowns, and, at the same time, work to make them break the Treaty of Hanover, and declare for the Pretender, which point is the most essential to accomplish his Restoration; telling me, at the same time, that the Chevalier avoided entering into any thing that might give umbrage to France; and that he had assured their Minister at the Court of Rome of the same; and that it should be with repugnance if he entered into any interest against them, which was written here, and received in good part by the King and Council. [This letter is said to be written about fourteen days ago here by Cardinal Polignac.] This, Sempill told me, he believed genuine; and that I might depend upon it the Duke of Ormond

was preparing to go somewhere, and that he hoped it was to England preferable to Muscovy; and, to conceal it, if things are ripe enough, he may give out that he is going to many places that he does not think of, in order to take the Government off the right scent; and that he believed there was something in agitation in favour of the Pretender, that would appear in a little time; and the Spaniard ordering the Dutch men of war out of the Port, gave him matter of reflection, it looking as if they were afraid they would spy out what they designed; and believed in a little time that the English would meet with the same treatment." He likewise told me, "that he was fully persuaded the Emperor would attack Hanover at the same time Spain and Muscovy should make an attempt upon England, which would oblige King George to renounce the one or the other, or lose both; but that he believed he would make choice of Hanover, though the Whigs and Prince would be glad he had not a foot of ground there; for, while he has, England must always be slaves either to France or the Emperor, to support a foreign interest they have nothing to do with; the doing of which will certainly destroy him and his party, if it has not already." He acknowledged "that your brother was a great man; and, if the Pretender had one in his party like him, he might go home without running the least risque."

I am just now sent for, to go to the Bishop, and upon what account you shall know to-morrow: I have his orders to meet the Muscovite Secretary; to know his sentiments upon this change of affairs; and I am to be with him on Wednesday.

I hope your Excellency will be so good as to pay the bill I took the liberty to draw upon you; otherwise I shall be drove to great difficulty, as much in regard to the matters I am concerned in with your Excellency as any thing whatever; so that I beg of your goodness to favour me once more with paying this bill. I am, with all duty, attachment, and sincerity, your Excellency's devoted obedient servant.

You shall have a long letter from me on Tuesday.

LETTER V.

Paris, Nov. 28, 1726.

I went to see the Bishop yesterday, and found he was engaged at dinner with Sir Tobit Burk and some others; wherefore I left my name, not thinking it prudent to interrupt their conversation; though, after dinner, I met the Bishop's coach, with him and Sir Tobit in it, and one of the latter's footmen

behind it; which gives me the strongest grounds to believe they had been upon some private visit together, and that the Bishop left his own servants behind, in order to keep it the more secret. And this evening Williams assured me, that the Bishop is resolved to strike Obrian out of the Pretender's affairs, and put Burk in his place, "who, he says, is one of the most ingenious men of the party, and knows the interest of Princes the best; and that Obrian is one of the most consummate blockheads in life, and not to be entrusted in any matter whatever;" so that your Excellency will perceive Obrian by this is of no long standing. I see plainly the Bishop wants a pretext to shake off Obrian; but, for my part, I will meddle as little as possible in it; rather chusing Obrian to remain the Pretender's Minister than Burk, who is a damned cunning fellow, and can do no harm.

Williams told me, as have several others of the party this evening, "that there is to be a Congress at Cologne; and that the Emperor will insist that no Power shall send Plenipotentiaries that has acceded to the Treaty of Hanover, except France; and, in order to draw them from the said Treaty, and make them enter into measures to restore the Pretender, he will promise to make Stanislaus king of Poland, besides other advantages that shall occur to this kingdom, if they will break with you." This I have had from good hands; but you will conceive whether there is any thing in it or not; though I hope you will protest against any Congress upon this footing; not but I wish there was a Congress with all my soul, which is contrary to the wish of our enemies. The French are not to be trusted to transact your affairs in this case. The report of your Excellency being so frequently with the Cardinal gives great uneasiness to the Bishop, who thinks that the Duke of Savoy is inclined to enter into your measures, which he believes to be of great importance to the party he sides with, though sure that he will join with one and end with the other, in order to draw money out of both; and that is his only politics. Neither the Emperor nor France are willing that he should have any possession in Lombardy. He is told, that his Ambassador is frequently with the Cardinal and you; which gives ground for this jealousy.

Williams has received another Bill of 100l. from England; which makes him very joyful; and from the parts *

and desired I would stick by the Bishop, and keep no secret from him, otherwise I should find myself at a loss; assuring

* A part of this letter is lost.

me, "that he is one of the best friends I have in the world, and that he gives proofs of it every day, which I did not know, neither could he tell me; but exhorted me to have no confidence but himself, for that there was all the reason in the world to suspect Lord Mar has still a correspondence in the Pretender's Court." And I have been told, within these two or three days, that Hay himself is in correspondence with the Government of England; and that it was told by one of the Ministers, which has no connexion to reason or truth; that it was only a malicious calumny, to blacken this man to the world, and divide the Pretender's friends. He told me; "that he believed Lord North* would be here again; and that Sir Tobit Burk was soliciting to go to Muscovy, as an agent of the Pretender's."

I told him, "that I was satisfied the Bishop stopped the Secretary's mouth from talking to us more."

"It is very true," says he; "I know he did, and acted a very wise part in so doing; for, if people in England concerned in the thing should come to know the Secretary babbled to us, it would deter them from entering further into it. You do not know how that matter lies; and you will do well never to speak of it more to the Bishop or any one else."

He told me, "that Lord Orrery was much my friend, as Salkeld, Lord Plymouth's Governor, had assured him, who is frequently with the Bishop, who, he said, admired my conversation." If so, your Excellency finds the instructions you gave me taken.

I asked him, when he began to be a little mellow, "if he really thought the Pretender would be restored, and by what channel?"

To which he replied, "that he would certainly be restored, but would not pretend to know how; only that he thought you had plunged yourselves into what you could not get out; if your brother had ten times more sense and resolution than he has; that, by calling a Congress, you cannot effect a peace, unless Port Mahon and Gibraltar are given to Spain, the Dutchy of Sleswick to the Duke of Holstein, a free passage through the Pund to Muscovy, and the Emperor the Eastern trade without molestation; which, says he, I believe, will not be granted without blows; and, if they once come to blows, our affair is done."

P. S. I was with Obrian this afternoon, who told me, "that the report of the engagement betwixt the Spanish and English men of war he believed to be false, notwithstanding it was reported first by the Envoy of Parma; but he had just received letters from Spain, which made no mention of it."

* Lord North and Grey; see vol. II. pp. 381. 415.

I told him, "that the weak politicians of the Jacobite party still flattered themselves that the Cardinal de Fleury was in the Pretender's interest."

"That is only a wish of theirs," says he; "for, I am persuaded, if his intention is so, he will keep it a secret from every one at this time, though I doubt the fact very much; but a little time will discover whether he is or not; and I hope he will shew himself so, contrary to our expectations."

I told him, "that I was informed by a gentleman just arrived from Vienna, that there was a Cardinal in that Court much in the Pretender's interest, and in whom he confided." I spoke this, in order to know the Cardinal's name that was in the Pretender's interest at Vienna, because I was told by Williams there was one. "That is Cardinal Holbine*," says he, "who is a very worthy man, and one that loves our interest." At this I was obliged to retire, by the coming in of Abbé Bigon, or Bichon, whose valet-de-chambre I have seen come with letters several times to Obrian. He is a man of a middle stature and a meagre complexion; and I believe him to be employed by Obrian in the Pretender's affairs; so pray enquire about him.

I was with Williams and one Leigh the best part of this afternoon; and, after we parted with Leigh, Williams and I went to take our bottle as usual, where he gave me a lecture to stand by the Bishop preferable to any other consideration in life; otherwise I should find myself surrounded with difficulties. This he spoke in such ambiguous terms, that I was at a loss to conceive what he was driving at, until he explained himself, by desiring I would only attach myself to the Bishop.

I seemed angry he should think I would ever act to the contrary, and assured him I would not; which gave satisfaction: and we parted good friends, without any thing passing of more moment than "that he had all the reason to believe the Parliament would meet the 15th of January, when he should know whether peace or war was determined upon, though he believed the latter, and that you was destroyed without redemption." This is all I have to inform your Excellency of this post, except begging the liberty to tell you that they seem fraught with hopes you have involved yourselves in difficulties you cannot surpass; the consequence of which will be, the Pretender's restoration, and King George and your brother's destruction; which I hope God will avert, and protect you as he has done hitherto; though I could wish, as I have all along, you could make up matters without coming to blows, which is the only thing your enemies wish, and the only thing you

* Perhaps intended for *Albano*; but the names are in many places tortured.

are to avoid. Depend upon my sincerity in this, for I see how matters go. I have played my part hitherto, though run through many difficulties in order to serve you; and, I think, to distract the councils of your enemies is the best part that any friend can act at this time. God direct you for the best; and believe I shall always be ambitious to prove myself, with all attachment, duty, gratitude, and respect,

Your Excellency's devoted,
most obedient, faithful servant,

LA FONTAIN.

Lord North * sent Williams a letter of charge. The Non-juring person I mentioned in one of my former letters to be here is called Harcourt. He is a poor devil, upon no design.

L E T T E R VI.

SIR,

Jan. 1, 1726-7.

I AM informed that Sir Tobit Burk has shewed the Bishop, Sir Peter Redmond, and some others that he rates as confidants, the extract of a letter he pretends to have received from one of the King of Spain's counsellors and confidants to this purport: "That the King of Spain had nothing more at heart than to live with a good understanding with his nephew the King of France; but thought it highly prejudicial to his own dignity, and the Nation's honour, to be extorted to come into whatever measures England thought proper to prescribe, and, rather than submit to which, he was resolved to determine the matter by blows; and, if he is vanquished, and obliged to come into any measures for Peace afterwards, it will be less dishonourable than to be thus hector'd at present by England, without shewing he is inclined, or in a condition, to resent it: and that he is resolved to run all lengths to serve the Pretender, and distress King George, and hopes his Allies will aid him in the same; and that some Princes that are not, when they consider the matter, will allow he has all reason and justice on his side so to do. That his making a separate treaty with the Emperor was no way designed to the prejudice of France, notwithstanding the indifferent treatment he had so lately received from them, which he no way attributes to the King or Nation, but to the weak views of a designing Minister; and that his chief motive for entering into the Treaty of Vienna was, the better to secure the succession of Tuscany and Parma to his son Don Carlos, there not being an article in the said treaty to the prejudice of the

* See pp. 339. 353.

House of Bourbon, for the prosperity of which he shall ever think himself obliged to be interested."

There was much more, which I cannot retain; neither do I much regard it, because the truth of every thing which Burk advances is always very much doubted. However, he keeps up his familiarity with the Bishop, they being constantly together, which must certainly be upon something more essential than conversation only. I am told that General Hamilton is arrived here incog. from Brussels, so that it may possibly be him: but I suspend my judgement, because I question my author, and rather believe it to be Obrian, that is come from Versailles, where he was sent by the Bishop. And the 29th the Bishop was locked up all the afternoon with some one, but whom I cannot say, though I employed all my art to effect it; but could learn no other but that the Bishop had directed his servants to admit no one whatever to see him, the valet de chambre telling me "that he was upon business of consequence."

Bellegard is not yet gone, though I am still of the belief that the Bishop thinks of sending him, which he cannot do without my knowing of it, as I have got a scent of the matter. However, it is good that the officers of those places I have already mentioned look sharp, lest he slip through my fingers.

Mr. Howard told me, "that it was the Bishop's opinion there will be no war, and that every thing will be accommodated by peace."

I asked him, "if he thought the Pretender would be restored by peace?"

To which he answered, "It is not impossible but he may, if France stands his friend, and if they do not declare otherwise. The landing 10,000 men in England, and 3000 in Scotland, in his favour; cannot be called a war, because then the affair would be decided in a month's time; and that, whenever such a thing happened, their only way was to make the best of their way for London."

I questioned the possibility of getting 10,000 men to England, so that the Government should not know it before they were landed.

He said, "it was possible; and so possible, that he believed the King of Spain designed it, and that he could effect it, as could the Emperor from Ostend and Newport, it being impossible for any ships to anchor there in order to stop a descent, and the same wind that blew your fleet to the Coast
of

of England carried their ships out ; so that, upon occasion, it was an easy matter to send 6 or 7000 men from thence."

However, he did not seem to relish the Emperor's sending an Ambassador here, believing, let people talk what they would, it foreboded no good to the Pretender's affairs. And most of the party discover an apprehension that his Imperial Majesty is really inclined to make his own terms, and accommodate the dispute by treaty, which will utterly destroy the Pretender's hopes of being restored in the manner concerted in the Treaty of Vienna ; believing that the formidable state King George is resolved to put himself in, and the resolution of the Parliament in supporting him in the same, will not only check all the measures of his antagonists, but make his Allies stand more firmly by him ; which must end in a Congress, that cannot turn to his prejudice ; so that he will be more fixed upon the Throne than before, and the Pretender left where he is while another occasion, that his interest is necessary for some Prince to play with while he has made his own terms with England : which apprehension, I believe, is no stranger to the Bishop's breast, and that he works with all his art to avoid it, by bringing whatever is in agitation to bear as speedily as possible.

And, if your Excellency finds the King of Spain and the Emperor are resolved upon war, depend upon it, the commencement will be to give you work at home, by which they think to destroy your measures abroad, and to obtain their own views, which, by having timely notice of, I hope, by the assistance of God, you will undermine and obstruct ; in order to which, take care of the project of Archangel, the coasts of Spain, and of the ports of Newport and Ostend, Lord North being upon the spot, who, depend upon it, is plotting your destruction as far as his capacity will extend. And pray do not neglect a circumspection even with this Court, while you are persuaded there are people at work to make them act contrary to what they pretend.

I am assured, from very good hands, that the last letters from Spain confirm the Duke of Liria's * being nominated Ambassador to the Court of Russia ; and that he is to depart very speedily, to negotiate, I believe, what concerns the Pretender more than the Court from which he is sent ; so that I hope your Excellency will have him traced.

* Son of the Duke of Berwick.

LETTER VII.

August 8, 1727.

I DINED with the Bishop on Wednesday last; but nothing of moment happened, he appearing fuller and thoughtful, which indeed he often affects, the better to conceal what he is upon. He gave me to understand that the Pretender did not see his wife; so consequently must have passed the Tyrol, if he is not still in Italy, as I have already mentioned, which I cannot believe, but rather at the Court of Bavaria, or gone farther North. Morice and others assure me, "that the Pope spurs-on the Emperor, and that the Emperor has promised to do what he can to serve him, and had actually given leave, before the preliminaries were signed, that he should come into Flanders; upon which promise, he left Italy upon hearing of his Majesty's death." But how the Emperor will behave, as he has signed the said preliminaries, is the great question; believing that he cannot openly take his part, without breaking his word and the faith betwixt Princes, though he may underhand connive and influence the Court of Muscovy to undertake what he cannot be seen in himself; and I believe your Excellency makes no doubt of the Court of Madrid's inclination to serve the Pretender; and, if they have not yet signed the preliminaries, are at more liberty to do it than if they had. Yesterday the Bishop hurried Obrian to Versailles, who took no servant whatever with him, and, when he came home at night, went and found the Bishop; which shews to me that he must be upon something that is carrying on very secretly, by his not taking a servant, which he has done several times since the Pretender has left Italy, and has, you may assure yourself, been at Rambouiller more than once; so that I hope you will think it very necessary to have an eye upon his motions, in order to find out to whom he addresses himself, and who it is that gives him encouragement; it being whispered by many, that the Pretender had an interview with the Cardinal and the Countess de Toulouse; which I do not believe, though it is not impossible, being persuaded that all arts are made use of to gain them both. The Bishop's steward was with me this morning, and told me "that the Bishop and Obrian [in particular the Bishop] have been writing all night, as they will be this day," which I believe may be for to-morrow's post, so that I hope your Excellency will order it so that care will be

be taken in London of such packets. His Majesty's prudence in making no change in the Ministry is admired by his greatest enemies, who flattered themselves to see great removes at Court, which they thought would divide his friends, so give them an opportunity to have done harm; their disappointment in which, I really believe, has stopped the source of their views in a great measure.

I long very much to know what answer your Excellency received to what you was so good as to write concerning him who has the honour of being, with all attachment, till death, your devoted servant, &c.

L E T T E R VIII.

Oct. 19, 1727, O. S.

THE Bishop has been so ill of the gout this week past, that he was not capable of doing any thing, though Obrian was frequently with him. However, I perceive them less active than they were three weeks ago, their motion then being to gain this Court to consent that the Chevalier should remain at Avignon; which point, Morice and Obrian assure me, is effected, by the Cardinal's Answer to the last *Placet*, given about three weeks ago, which was worded in so fine a manner, that it confuted all that your Excellency had advanced to the contrary; and Morice told me, "that the Marechal D'Uxelles affirmed, when he read it, that it must have been drawn up by the Bishop, whom he acknowledged to be one of the ablest men the Pretender had ever employed; though he confessed to me, at the same time, that he did not believe the said Marechal to be the Pretender's friend; though, upon the whole, the Court of France had declared they would not oppose his remaining where he is; upon the assurance of which, his wife and children would soon be with him there; as gentlemen attendants to whom, several were going from hence, and coming from Scotland, viz. one of Sir Harry Goring's sons, as also the son of Lochiel, now in Scotland."

On Tuesday last Mr. Morice and I dined with Mr. Rinerton, at Poiffey, in company with young Mr. Goring; but nothing passed of any moment, except drinking of healths to the Pretender, Duke of Ormond, the Bishop, &c. His manner in every thing was so unaccountably nasty, that we could not possibly stay there all night; so christened his house by the name of the Hotel de Salope, and came to St. Germain's to lie,

lie, and supped with Sir Redmond Everard and Lochiel; and, when we grew mellow in wine, politics ran high. The Knight inclined to favour the character of Lord Mar and Phillips, and said, "that it was not a good way to serve the Pretender, to run down men that he knew to be in his interest;" in answer to which, Morice mentioned particulars to prove the contrary, and wondered that Sir Redmond, who was a relation to the Duke of Ormond, should attempt the vindication of Mar, his greatest enemy; and made it appear that it was Mar whom the Bishop owes his exile to, to which end Colonel Churchill was sent over, whose letters to Mar were found amongst his papers, and are now to be seen. It would be too tedious to relate all that passed of this kind; but, in the end, the Knight grew silent, and the Highland Laird to falter; but, what was more comic than all the rest, when Sir Redmond would retire, the other would be cautioning Morice against all the Irish in general; and, when Lochiel would be absent, the Knight against the Scotch in the same manner; by which your Excellency will perceive the harmony that reigns amongst them; so that, by this and other material circumstances, I beg leave to repeat my humble opinion again; which is, not to give any public pardon to Mar and others who are held in distrust with the Pretender at present, finding still that they have a party amongst the Jacobites that are inclined to think well of them, by which their strength is divided, and will so continue, unless Mar goes home publicly by a free pardon. After Sir Redmond went away, Lochiel stayed a considerable time with us; and, by way of confidence, told Mr. Morice and me, "that a gentleman had arrived the day before from Avignon, on his way to Scotland, from whence he was sent upon important affairs to the Pretender, and that he hoped all would go well;" which subject I perceived so far, as to ask by what way he was to return, which he told me was by Rotterdam; and, by pushing the matter farther, I plainly discovered, both by Morice and him, that their letters of moment all come by that channel; as a confirmation of which, I have been at the Bishop's these two last posts from England, and saw that he received nothing but the common news-papers, but always by the Holland mail large packets; so that, I believe, his letters come by the way of Rotterdam, by the above-mentioned circumstances. This is all that passed material at St. Germain's and Poissy; but, on our way home, Morice told me, "that the Duke of Ormond was at St. Aldefonso, soliciting the King and Queen of Spain to undertake something in favour of the
Chevalier,

Chevalier, and that he had reason to believe he would succeed; that 1000 men, landed in any part of England, would effect the point, with arms for 2000 more; and that the Duke of Ormond had discarded Hamilton his chaplain, because he had made himself obnoxious to Connock, father Clarke, and several others, that are in the Pretender's interest at the Court of Madrid; and his Grace had written to the Bishop to send him another, who is actually upon the road, and passes by here in his way to Madrid, the said clergyman being recommended by Dr. Bridges and old Cotton of Angiers."

It looks to me as if something was actually training in Spain in favour of the Pretender, for the following reasons; viz. sending off Hamilton, because I know Connock and that faction, who are all in all with the Queen, have forced the Duke to it, by their insinuation that he was privately in the interest of the Government; so that, in all probability, he complied to humour those people that must be most assisting to him in the carrying it on: the Duke allows him 400*l.* a year. Besides, private letters from Spain remark, "that it is observed the Duke has been frequently with the Queen at St. Aldefonso in conferences together, and that his Grace is very often with the Emperor's Minister also;" but the countenance he receives may be an artful politic, to frighten the Government to come into measures in regard to Gibraltar. But this is only the suggestion of my own brain.

The Bishop is better; and this day writes his letter himself. I have talked to him upon the affair of Prince Menchicof; and his answer was, "that the consequence of it would be no other than the Russians would become as great beasts as ever, there not being a man of sense in all the councils, though the Prince was a good-for-nothing man, inclined to serve none but himself, and that he deserved the fate he has met with; which," says he, "looks to have been contrived by the Duke of Holstein's friends, and hatched at the Court of Vienna."

This has been told me also by the Muscovite Secretary; who said, "that Prince Menchicof had a project to enter into an alliance with England, Prussia, and the other Princes of the North, to the prejudice of that of Vienna; and that with a view to support his allying his family with the royal race; which the Emperor of Germany had timely notice of, and took his measures accordingly."

However, upon the whole, I find the Bishop and all the party begin to lose all hopes of assistance from thence.

I talked

I talked with the Bishop the other evening, "that it was whispered your brother would be hardly attacked this Parliament, there being many of his enemies elected;" to which he answered, "that it was a wrong notion, for that his party was stronger than ever; and that his Majesty knew his interest too well, to encourage any thing of that kind, while you and he stand so well as you do at this Court." He took notice of striking Lord Orrery out of the Council, "who, he said, with Lord Oxford, would never be reconciled to the Court; but that Sir William Wyndham had struck into the third party, and told Shippen that he is no more to be regarded as a Jacobite, though resolved to run all lengths to destroy your brother;" which, in my humble opinion, is acting like a Jacobite, though he would not have people to see clear enough to regard him as such; for, as the Bishop observed, "those despised wretches, finding that neither party will take them by the hand, are resolved to form one of their own, which they would christen by the name of the True Whigs, and Lovers of their country, the better to kidnap unthinking fools, that leave the fold, and become a sacrifice to beasts of prey;" for, if ever the True Whigs suffer themselves to be divided by such pretenders as these, they must expect to fall soon after, with their falling state and the present Establishment; both of which I pray God to avert.

I hope their Majesties will have a fine day for their Coronation, and that every thing will contribute to make them great and happy; which is the wish of

Your Excellency's devoted faithful servant.

P. S. I wish your Excellency would enquire farther about this Parker, the French agent at the Court of Madrid; because their pretending to know nothing of him is a conviction that he is as I have long ago represented, because I see with my eyes the letters he writes every post to Count Morpals and the Duke of Orleans, and know they answer to the receipt of them, and have done several services upon his recommendation. He is a great projector; and, I am afraid, has made an understanding betwixt France and Spain separate from other nations in regard to the flotilla and the galleons.

LETTER IX.

Nov. 2, 1727.

YOUR Excellency coming to Paris has obstructed my writing to Fontainebleau, which I should have done oftener had any thing of moment occurred, so that I hope your goodness will not regard it as a neglect in me. The Bishop is perfectly recovered, though he seems to be somewhat perplexed in his mind, the reason of which I have made use of all the art I am master of to come at; first telling him, "that I believed your Excellency and the Government were not satisfied the Pretender remained at Avignon, and that I believed it would not be in your power to remove him from thence;" to which he answered, "that he wished I could make that good, knowing that you neither spared money nor pains to effect it; and, says he, Lord Molesworth's journey to Italy appears to me a mystery [he said he only observed it in the prints, though it seemed to affect him]; and I believe the Cardinal will do all in his power not only to gratify your Excellency in this point, but to make himself so much master of the Spanish Council as to procure a good understanding betwixt them and England; and the man he has sent there [meaning Monsieur Rottinburg], is as much Walpole, says he, as any one in France; and, if he succeeds in what he is sent upon, our interest is at an end there." This he spoke in such a manner, that I have reason to believe it has a connexion to his real opinion, and what he apprehends, finding that he has laid aside boasting, and appears to be very thoughtful and calm; and, to confirm that the Pretender is apprehensive that he will be obliged to leave the place he is in, letters from Bologna say, "that apartments are fitting up for him, and that provisions are bought for all the winter; and that it is whispered amongst them, that he is to return there again." However, Morice told me, and I have heard it from others, "that the Pretender and his agents are making use of all the interest they are masters of, both at the Courts of Rome, Madrid, Vienna, &c. that he may remain where he is" [the reason he remains so quiet there is, that you may not have a handle to say that he is projecting, and making a bustle; however, I plainly foresee that it is an essential point to remove him from thence, and I hope your Excellency will be successful]; knowing that, if he should be obliged to remove, the consequence would be most

most fatal to him, particularly a general revolt of his party, without an expedient to revive a new one, unless Lord Bolingbroke, and some of that stamp of desperate railers, should attempt to make their names appear more horrid and ungrateful in after-history than is already known by all men in this age. I have taken all the pains imaginable to know by what channel the Bishop corresponds with England; and am satisfied it is by the way of Holland, in particular Rotterdam, where the Pretender has an agent called Dundas: however, it is good that the Officers of the Post-house should have a watch upon all letters to and from Holland, though, from my soul, I believe his correspondence with England is not of so great moment in the world as the world imagine. Looking upon his table the other night, I saw a letter addressed to him, in English, by the name of Russell; which must come from England, I am persuaded. Obrian is very still, and the whole party seem to gaze at each other, without seeming to know of any thing that is training to keep up their spirits, unless the bottle, which they take in so plentiful a manner, that a company seldom parts without a quarrel. I am every night with one or the other of them; and find they are all of the opinion that, unless Spain and the Emperor assist the Pretender now, his name will be forgotten in England, and that he may for ever give up his pretensions. In short, all their hopes, I find, now lie in the Court of Spain, which, if gained by France, the thread of them will be cut; finding that it is the general opinion of all, that the view of the Cardinal is to stand by England, and establish a peace in Europe; though I find, by General Brown, that the Emperor designs to bully in the behalf of Spain, and that it will soon appear; when, at the same time, they insinuate as if the good understanding betwixt France, Spain, and the Emperor, were so strong, that, let the two other act as they would, the former would only put themselves in a posture of defence, and act neuter.

I have touched to the Bishop, more than once, the possibility of the King of Spain sending 10,000 men to England; but observe, he only gives me a hearing, and then flies from the subject; so that I beg to repeat to your Excellency again, that it is necessary you should know what is doing in the ports of that country.

Mr. Kynaston was with the Bishop two days ago.

The Bishop has ordered me to come and live near him. I hope to have the honour of seeing your Excellency this night.

L E T.

LETTER X.

Nov. 16, 1727.

I CANNOT make any thing of the affair of the Spanish Minister Burk and the Bishop [the Bishop told me that this Minister did not meddle in affairs here]; nor do I believe the thing is of so great moment as I imagined at first: though it is observed that Burk makes his visits seldom, and then very private; his reasons for which I cannot learn, unless a public intimacy betwixt them would make people believe that something was training at the Court of Spain, to conceal which, they think it politic not to be seen together often, though they keep a strict correspondence by letter; yet I cannot think a man like the Bishop would confide any matter of consequence to such a fellow as Burk. I have more than once touched him upon the affairs of Spain, it coming to my ears from all quarters that something is working there in favour of the Pretender; but he always flies from the subject; only told me, "that you had sent a large remittance to an English Consul now at Madrid, to work with its influence upon people in that Court; and that one Duncombe was hovering about upon the coast, to spy if any thing was doing; but all this is not enough," says he: "if the King of Spain and his Allies have a mind to befriend us, they will be able to do it without obstruction." He then changed the discourse, and began to talk hardly of the Princess Sobieski's conduct, whom her husband has sent twice to join him, and she has refused it both times, which has put the Bishop and others in great wrath against her, though I believe it is by the advice of Mar and Dillon she acts thus; so that your Excellency will perceive the division that reigns amongst them; and I am told that Obrian is going to Avignon upon a message of importance [this I believe, and that the Bishop wants to have him out of the way]; which I hope may be the same that Dillon went upon in the time of the Regent, nothing being so essential as his being removed from thence. He told me, "that he was afraid the notion some had that your brother would be removed from Court would not be so; for, by what he could observe, he was like to have a stronger party than ever; and that he would have the government of affairs as long as he pleased, it appearing that he is well with their Majesties; and those who wanted to raise themselves by being his antagonists, had neither
resolution

resolution nor credit enough to hurt him." This is his reasoning upon the matter, which is foreign to what he did some months ago; besides, he seems to be galled to the soul at the popular goodnesses of their Majesties to all that have the honour to be distinguished by them, believing the consequence thereof will be the perpetual establishment of the House of Hanover, and consequently the utter extermination of the Pretender, and the views of his adherents to establish him; though I still perceive they have nothing more at heart than to see your brother ill with their Majesties, believing him the greatest enemy they have in power, that is inclined and most able to hurt them.

The Bishop assured me, "that the King of Spain will come to no manner of agreement with England, farther than offering to put the ship Prince Frederick into the hands of France, to be decided as they shall think most just and proper; but, at the same time, declares to persist on his pretensions to Gibraltar, &c. [he told me, at the same time, that France declined to meddle in the matter]; and, if he receives his money from the Indies this year, he will be in a condition to do what he will, says he, having already received two millions of pieces of eight." I hope to God our fleet will obstruct his galleons, even if the treasure of it should come in ships under French colours.

P. S. I was with Obrian last night, who sets out for Avignon to-morrow morning, as he told me himself, by the order of the Pretender, though he told me "that it was only a desire he had to see him, more than any affairs to be transacted, designing only to stay a month there:" but, to prove that he prevaricated in saying so, I found him burning papers in great quantities; and what he reserved was put into a strong box, I suppose to be taken with him. He told me, "that he should be closeted with the Bishop all the evening, and have affairs with him till he departed;" which has a connexion to what the Bishop told me the evening before, viz. "that he had not time to talk to me, because that he had something of great moment, that filled his head, which he would be free from in two or three days;" and I find that he, old Inness, and some others, have been much occupied for some days past; and I am just now assured, by Sempill and others, that Obrian is sent for, to accompany the Pretender to Spain (it is certain that Obrian is a great favourite of the Duke of Ormond, and proper to be made
use

use of on such occasions); from whence a descent in his favour is in agitation, and that he will leave Avignon very soon for that kingdom. Pray give attention to this advice. Obrian passes by Fontainebleau; and it would be well to know whom he sees, or if he stops there.

I am very poor; so hope your Excellency will not let me want.

LETTER XI.

July 24, 1728.

LAST night Mist the printer, and Bingley (that was concerned with Kelly), arrived here, as did the Duke of Wharton, *incognito*, and took up his quarters at Waters the Banker; and this morning they go all three to dine with the Bishop, though Mist's affairs seem to be with Obrian, having a design to live at Dieppe, from whence he is to settle a correspondence with England. I beg your Excellency not to seem you know this, because I shall be found out if you do. I shall have his company all the time he remains here, so shall come at the bottom of what they aim at. Wharton sent for him immediately; and they were together a great part of the evening, and afterwards joined me, when they told me how much his Grace seemed to be startled at measures the Government was entering into against him; not that he had any mind to go to England, or to change his way of thinking from being a Jacobite; expressing all the regard in the world for the Pretender, and declares "he is so fine a gentleman, that, was he not his Prince, he would make choice of him preferable to all others for his companion and friend;" in saying which, I must suspect Wharton's sincerity, knowing in his heart he cannot look upon the Pretender in that light. He rails much against Hay and Murray. There is a war betwixt Lord North and him; and I find a strong jealousy growing betwixt Obrian and the latter, upon account he thinks North* is to be the director in chief here. In short, it is all a farce, to make serious people laugh; though Obrian seems to be in a great hurry, and North has taken a country-house at Vincennes. The Bishop† came to dine with Skelton yesterday, and returned in the evening; then came to make me a visit, and to desire I would dine with him to-morrow. They flatter themselves

* See pp. 339. 341.

† The Bishop, at this time, had retired from Paris to Surenne; see vol. II. P. 373.

that the affairs of the Congress will go against you; but regret much the death of Baron Rentierider, in whom the Emperor has lost a great Minister, and King George an enemy. I am just going to see Obrian; so shall let you hear from me if any thing material occurs. I pray your Excellency, when you tear my letters, to dispose of the pieces, so that they may not be found. I shall never forget the obligation I have to you and yours; so remain with gratitude.

LETTER XII.

Paris, Nov. 6, 1728:

MY last informed your Excellency of Wharton's actings here; and this is to let you know, that he is now upon a paper, intituled, "a Letter from his Father to him," giving an account, that he has talked with King James and Queen Anne, and how he would have acted had he been now in the land of the living, the Whiggish principles he is to expose in it, and exhort all to espouse the Pretender's part.

I supped with him and Lord Somerville on Thursday night, and put the Duke upon talking politics, and found his head run much upon the Spanish fleet being joined; and that he who commanded it was very honest; and that a thunderbolt was preparing, that would blast you without redemption. In short, he seemed so sure of his point, that he formed the procession of his instalment, and named persons for half the places at Court; seemed impatient for the arrival of the Italian post, for that he expected a letter from the Pretender, and did not know but he might have orders to go to Muscovy. In short, I believe he is in no secret of the Pretender's at present, but guesses by circumstances that something is transacting for him; though he is constantly in conferences with Obrian, and runs roving about from morning till night amongst the party, in particular to Father Inniss, of the Scotch College, who is in a strict correspondence with the Pretender, and a great man with the Bishop. The Duke told me, "that the Duke of Ormond had applied to come to France, and that the Duke de Shore had spoken to the Cardinal about it, who said, that he could not permit it without your Excellency's consent; and that you had agreed to it, on condition the Duke of Ormond would promise not to meddle in the Pretender's affairs; but that his Grace has made answer he would be confined to no promises." In short, I plainly observe, something

is going forward against you ; which, I am satisfied, your vigilance will discover, and hope I may be instrumental therein.

The changes at Court in England are judged a resolute stroke of his Majesty, as well as politic, in quashing at once the seeds of domestic faction ; judged, if permitted, to be more hurtful to his interest, than proscribed traitors, and others that are known to be of the same way of thinking : those he will, I hope, always be guarded against ; but to nourish snakes in his bosom, who only want, in return, venom enough to hurt him, is a weakness, I am satisfied, his Majesty will never be guilty of ; and that he knows it is not he that can make the finest bow, pun, or harangue upon a bawdy joke, that is the most able to serve him in matters of state, but the man that is indefatigable at home, and admired for his parts in foreign courts ; and, as a proof of his integrity, his death is wished by all that wish extirpation to the Hanover succession.

People complain, your Excellency has not given them notice to prepare for the birth-day. I hope you have obtained the *Placet*, and that you will permit me the honour of seeing you.

L E T T E R XIII.

SIR,

Paris, March 15, 1729.

THE inclosed comes from the Bishop, which I think proper to forward, though it imports no great matter, more than an account how he has recommended me to the Duke of Ormond, who, I am persuaded, will condescend to what the other requests. However, I pray your Excellency to believe I thought to be happy under the honour of your protection, and never be obliged to return to them again ; but, as I apprehend a disappointment in one view, I must think of making myself easy in another ; though I shall ever retain my gratitude for you and yours, and be ambitious, on all occasions, to give proofs of it, as also of my zeal for his Majesty's interest and attachment to the Royal Family. I will not trouble you with a repetition of my last ; only pray your Excellency to take my case into consideration, and, if you judge me proper to serve you, you will also think it proper to support me. I expect the honour of your answer ; otherwise I must retire from Paris immediately, and seek out a new retreat, less expensive, and perhaps more to my honour and satisfaction.

I was a considerable time with Obrian the other day, who gave me to understand, what I have seen in letters to others,

that the Pretender was not to remain at Rome ; though he has had great honour done him since his arrival there, having first alighted at the Pope's Palace, with whom he continued more than two hours in conference, and afterwards went to his own house, where he met a mob of Priests and Cardinals that attended his coming. That he has had several meetings with Centefogus, the Emperor's Minister ; and that Alberoni seems to be in great agitation, so that they conclude by thinking something of great moment is working for him ; which I believe to be no more than soliciting money and a separate pension for his son, whom he thinks to send to Lorrain for education, with the Duke of Ormond as Governor ; which I cannot believe his Grace will accept, being become the very old man, hating action and to stir abroad. Besides, Murray arrived at Rome with the Chevalier [Murray is Governor to the son at present] ; and, while he continues in favour, your Excellency may believe, neither the Duke of Ormond, nor the Bishop, will have any thing to do in the Pretender's affairs ; nor can I be brought to think the other will have permission to come to Lorrain ; nor would it be the Duke's interest to have it so, though I have reason to be satisfied it is strongly solicited. It is the Duke of Lorrain's interest to have the Pretender's son there ; for it would hinder other strangers from coming.

On the other side, some of his sanguine friends whisper, and write it as a thing certain, that his journey to Rome was, to implore the Pope to exert his interest with the Cardinal here to declare in his behalf, as the only material thing wanting, and what must be had, to grasp his views ; and that a considerable sum is necessary, which he has a promise to obtain ; and that the greatest part of it is to be disposed of amongst his Majesty's subjects, who are ready, for a bribe, and to gratify their own private resentment, to join in the blackest attempt. Sir Peter Redmond tells me, that Burk writes him from Rome how strongly the Pretender has solicited the Cardinal's hat for the Bishop Dambrun, which he is to have the next promotion without opposition. This I believe to be true ; and your Excellency may be assured this Bishop to be the heartiest in the Pretender's interest ; and, as he is well with the Cardinal and Jesuits here, is to be apprehended. Obrian and he are constantly together ; and, if the one does not go abroad, the other corresponds with him by letters ; though Obrian seems to be very bush ; but some will have it, that he is not very
deep

Keep in the secret, being too often with Mr. Arthor, who is suspected.

There is an old acquaintance of the Cardinal's, that he knew at Montpellier, for whom he has a great regard, that Obrian works with, and, by his means, obtained Abbé Dunn 800 livres pension. I am persuaded you must have heard of him, therefore know how his credit stands. It seems Lord Orrery is under great apprehensions for a correspondence he held with the Pretender when his Lordship was last in Paris, by the means of Monsieur de March, who acted as his Secretary; but could not keep it from the knowledge of his wife, who has talked of it since, which has frightened cautious Orrery out of his wits, and has written letters here about it.

If your Excellency should think proper to have this hinted to him, it would be a good method to deter him from acting with the Pretender for the future, and perhaps gain him to become a good subject. You may depend upon the truth of this, as you may of Corbet Kinnaston's constant correspondence with the Pretender; as a proof of which, here is one Price, a countryman and relation of his, that served as a common soldier in Lord Claire's regiment, till Kinnaston desired the Pretender to write to Lord Claire that he might be advanced, which was done accordingly, and the young fellow made a lieutenant in pay, to the prejudice of several whose right it was. I must likewise inform you again of James Hamilton, a correspondent and agent of the Pretender's in London, under the disguise of trafficking in wine. He is always with Parsons and Robinson, and is to be heard of at their abodes, and, you may believe, at the bottom of their secret.

An expedient must be found, to quash the growing faction in the City; otherwise it may prove of evil consequence. It is that which hardens corrupted minds (Poultney, &c.) to foment disputes, and slander those in power; a forerunner of the blackest treasons, which, if seen through a perspective in their minority, may be rendered abortive before they come to maturity; but this is not a favourable juncture to make things of this kind appear, for it would be shewing your foreign enemies too much of your domestic animosity. You cannot imagine how much the enemy counts upon the division, and in believing that those they call the Whigs are at variance.

I omitted to mention, when I was with Obrian, he insinuated as if there were apprehensions the Queen of Spain might be gained to make up matters with England, upon the hopes of

seeing the Italian succession surely settled; which England, France, and other powers in alliance with them, would not only secure Italy to Don Carlos, but force the Emperor into what measures they pleased. This I observed to be a real apprehension, and no affectation.

I am well assured, that there are two Italian Abbés here, that are working no good; and they are employed to abuse you and Mr. Stanhope with false accounts, by the advice of Macanass and the Spanish Ministers, with whom they are constantly, and are on very good terms with the Cardinal here. I asked a person, that is well acquainted with both of them, "what he thought they were upon?" to which he replied, "that they were cunning fellows, and did nothing without the connivance and direction of the Court of Spain; and that one of their great views was, to augment the discord betwixt you and the Court of Vienna." This was seconded by Obrian, who declared "they were very artful fellows, and did not intend any harm."

One Boisseu, that I have mentioned before to your Excellency, that is well acquainted with all people of the best fashion here, in particular the Spanish Ministers, assures me, "that a rupture betwixt you and Spain is unavoidable; and that France wants nothing more than to see it commence, thinking, in the end, to become mediators, and to grasp into their possession again what they enjoyed before the treaty of Utrecht, and to have the privileges given us in the said treaty confirmed to them; and that it is of great heartburning to Spain that we have raised so many fortifications in the Indies, as if we had a mind one day to become master of the country." He seemed strong in the opinion, "that now, as the galleons are arrived, the King of Spain will soon declare against England, though, if any thing is designed for the Pretender, the war would commence by a descent in his favour; and, if Spain seems backward still in deciding one way or the other, the thing is plain; but that matters are not come to maturity either in Muscovy or Spain, but that he believed France and the Emperor wished to be neuter; and that the English Government wished Gibraltar was in the bottom of the sea, being that it is like to cost them and the Nation very dear, for that Spain is resolved not to desist from their pretensions." I wish from my soul there never had been any such place; for, depend upon it, it is like to give you great trouble; and, if a war ensues with Spain upon that account, the end of the evil cannot be well seen at this distance; so that I wish Spain had it to-morrow;

morrow; though Boisseu is strong of the opinion that the treaty of Vienna subsists no longer than that affair of Gibraltar is decided. The success, you have in carrying every thing without opposition in Parliament has baffled the hopes of those that thought to see you distracted by divisions; and the French, that were made to believe so before the meeting of Parliament, now see the imposition, and cry, "You see that the King and Parliament agree so well, that they pass every thing he demands." The Jacobites would have made Sir William Windham's conduct an argument to confute this, but found it had no force. Sir Robert is regarded as a very great man with them, to struggle with such success through so many difficulties as he has met with.

Phillips is still here, who, in the presence of Piggot and another, spoke of the King and Queen with the greatest contempt, and drank to the Pretender's health, and said, "he saw the Nation would never be happy till he was restored." He rails against Sir Robert and the Ministry without moderation; he keeps much at Mr. Hay's, and with Frederick.

I do not think it worth troubling your Excellency with accounts of the Duke of Wharton; only that he is still under arrest, and continues to be despised by every one, though he has Sir Seymour Pile, Lord Kingsland, Windham, and some young fellows, that follow him, and drink all the healths he proposes.

If your Excellency does not think proper to honour me with your answer and relief, I certainly must retire from Paris in a few days, where I shall no more have it in my power to serve you farther than wishes.

Wharton's letter, intituled, "Woolfe's Epistle to Sir Robert Walpole," is printed, with another paper called his "Reasons for being a Jacobite;" but I do not find Obrian would have them dispersed, though some of them are sent to England. I believe they were printed at Calais, where Mist and Wolfe now are.

L E T T E R XIV.*

SIR,

Paris, March 22, 1729-30.

I DINED yesterday with Sir Peter Redmond, who told me, "that Sir Simon Connock writes him word from Sevil that every thing is ready there, to transport Don Carlos to Italy; and that the King had said publicly, if 30,000 men were not sufficient, he could spare 40,000; and that the Queen was

* Indorsed "S—le, 22 March, 1729."

resolute to put it in execution, and admit of no balk, which occasions the faction against her (which is very numerous), to insinuate that she wants to destroy and pillage the country, to push her own private views, and that they engage in a war that Spain can hope to have no advantage from. However, there is another party, that flatter themselves the Emperor will conclude a lasting friendship between the two crowns, by giving an Archduchess to Don Carlos. This is what Sir Peter told me; but "that his own sentiments were, that there would certainly be a war." He told me likewise, "that the Duke of Ormond complains much, that he has not received a farthing of his Spanish pension these four years; and that he has solicited it, and cannot obtain one farthing." A Scotch gentleman that was with Lord Marischal passed by here some days ago on his way to Muscovy, and is to receive instructions at Vienna. The abovementioned Lord talks of moving that way in a few weeks; and I find others of the party seem to be in agitation; and Sir Peter, upon my telling him, "I hoped the Emperor would engage Muscovy to undertake something in favour of the Chevalier," replied, with a nod and a smile, "that something would be done for him without Muscovy; and that the wrangling in the House of Parliament stood him in great stead; and that he hoped they would keep up the spirit." He talked much in favour of Bolingbroke; and indeed, by what he said, and what I learned from the Bishop and others, he must be at the bottom of all this clamour and disorder; and, in short, you are to regard him as a dangerous man, more in the Pretender's interest than ever; and your Excellency may expect I will give you proofs of it. I will tell you something of Mr. Knight in my next: he says, "he finds now you have amused him;" and is often in conference with Obrian.

I, being pressed very much, humbly pray your Excellency to pay 25*l.* which I have drawn, signed Gordon, payable to Hicks. I will acknowledge your goodness while I live; and that, in paying that, I shall have received 55*l.* since you left France, which you will deduct out of what you are pleased to allow me. I have received 6*l.* upon the bill; so that I shall be undone if it is not answered. I will not trouble you with the like again.

LETTER

LETTER XV.

SIR,

Feb. 17, 1730-31.

BEING sent for by the Bishop, and the post ready to depart, I have just time to inform you, they have changed the treaty I mentioned in my two former, now to be carried on only betwixt the Courts of Vienna and Seville, without your having any thing to do in it; and that Cartilard is working to bring over the Cardinal here; but, as for England, it is not worth the King of Spain's while to smother his pretensions to Gibraltar for any consideration in your power to do for him; for, as he looks upon the treaty of Seville as null, by the non-execution of the principal articles of it last year, he has nothing to do but to renew his terms with the Emperor upon a certain footing; and I am assured he actually is, and that the Duke of Liria is the person charged to negotiate it, and afterwards to come here as Ambassador in the place of Cartilard. The Bishop received a large packet from him the other day; but I believe I need not tell you his principles, and how much he is devoted to the interest of the Pretender, and consequently will omit no occasion of doing him all the good offices in his power, and you the ill.

Inverness is charged to have done something very ill, and his wife to be a spy for the Government, and to have a correspondence with Secretary Johnston; and, in short, Murray and all the nest of them will be routed in a little time; which will put the Bishop on the highest pinnacle. I told you in my last, it was the Dutches of Buckingham that brought it about.

Your enemies boast of reviving the affair of Dunkirk in the House, in order to puzzle the Ministry, and give umbrage to France; two points the enemies of his Majesty have mostly at heart. I am, in all gratitude, your devoted servant,

L—T.

LETTER XVI.

June 7, 1731.

I RECEIVED the honour of yours, and the other marks of your goodness, which has served to discharge some debts, and furnish me with necessaries. I shall not express my gratitude in words, as I hope to prove it by actions; but Rossel was seen to come to my lodgings, and known by my servant;
and

and I had all the difficulty to form a project to parry the consequence of it, which I did by drawing up a short letter signed Barbut, which I read in the person's hearing the next day, as if I had received it from him, and that I believed it came by a courier, for I knew nothing of the man that brought it; so that I have nothing now to apprehend from it. However, you will observe the difficulty, and danger, and risk; and, as it is to do you service, I hope you will not think it amiss to supply me.

I saw Mr. P. for a quarter of an hour. However, I told him of Mr. Pezey's conference with the Bishop by the Cardinal's order; and made him sensible, at the same time, of the necessity of his keeping it as the greatest secret; for that, if it took wind, it would certainly be traced to me; and I hope you will think proper not to make any use of it that may hurt me, and change their channel, so that I shall be no more able to give you accounts of their proceedings as at present. Pezey has been with the Bishop several times, and couriers pass betwixt them. Lord Sempill is the scribe, and interprets; and Pezey's confidant is my particular friend, and brought about the matter, so that nothing shall pass but you shall have due notice of it; though I must assure you, that they are come a great length in their negotiation, and Pezey is as hot as the Bishop to attack you, and omits no occasion of spurring the Cardinal to it, as a thing for the honour of the King, and to establish his own reputation; and I am told Pezey is to be a Duke and P. and Marshal of France if it succeeds; in short, the Bishop says, "Pezey is one of the cleverest men he ever knew;" and Pezey says the same of the Bishop, and has not only given him the liberty of the Garden of La Mute, but invited him to a great *repas* there; but the Bishop refused it. I shall not trouble you with a detail of the *pro* and *con* of this affair more than the thing is so; and the Bishop is come at the Cardinal, and acts in concert with the Duke of Berwick [Berwick is at Fitz James, but that is nothing]; and, as for Dillon and the Minister of the War, they are excluded the grand secret. However, I observe, the Bishop affects to conceal it from me as much as possible; and I, on the other hand, shew as little curiosity. He says, "that the Cardinal is a coward, and has no resolution; and that the thoughts of undertaking any thing of the kind (a descent upon England), frightens him, and that he is afraid Pezey will not be able to rouse him; but that, if the King of Spain will not sign the treaty (and I am assured, from good hands, that they have worked

worked with the King of Spain to make it a condition with France,) he may be animated to do something ;" "for," says he, "the Cardinal hates the Walpoles and the Government, and wants nothing but courage to revenge himself ; and, for the French in general, they bite their nails to be at you ;" and, on the three last visits I have made him, I perceive, he treats his Eminence with softer language, and more respect, than formerly ; and I have all the reason to believe he has had several meetings with him ; but, let that be as it will, the consequence is the same as if he did ; and be assured the Cardinal has told him, by Pezey, more than six weeks ago, "that the Duke of Ormond might come here, and that he would be well received at Court ;" [this Pezey told my friend, and he told me ; but the Bishop desired he would keep it a secret to every body ;] and I am astonished he is not here already : however, I am told by some that know nothing of the secret, that he will be here soon ; except the Bishop has delayed it till matters are ready to be put in execution ; and that his being here before would do no good but alarming you in England.

In short, you are to apprehend every thing that can be imagined or brought about by these people, and to prepare yourselves for the worst : 15,000 men are the number the Bishop demands ; and, in case the Cardinal seems slow to grant them, the Chevalier is to whip from Rome, and stare him in the face here ; and, as France now thinks she has no tie or engagement with you, he would not be sent back again ; and, if he should, it would be of service to him, by letting his friends and others see in England the intent of France is only to frighten them with his name, to obtain their own views, but never to serve him ; so that they may follow Brett's scheme, and think of ways and means to restore him, without being obliged to France or any other Nation. "This," the Bishop tells me, "may be done ; but that having 15,000 French would be less hazardous ; and that it shall be his advice to the Cardinal, to undertake it in such a manner that it should not miscarry, and that he will aid him with all his power to that purport, and not let him be deluded by ignorant politicians to run a-head ;" and he gave me to understand, at the same time, that Dillon's projects had no force, and that Berwick was certainly the man that was most in credit. He told me of the Chevalier's being at Naples, and that he was to return to Rome the 2d instant ; but I could not learn from him the occasion of his going ; but I found his having been there pleased him, by his saying, "The world will see, he does not apprehend the Emperor so much

as imagined; and that the Chevalier's running about at this time will not only make him be more talked of, but conceal when he intends to come off for good;" and wagers are laid, that he will be in France in less than three months. This I doubt.

I was with the Bishop some part of this afternoon; but, as there was company, little passed of moment; and about nine, I found Monsieur Pezey was to be with him; as he told my friend in the morning he would, [he is Pezey's confident, and frequently with the Bishop; and I supped and got drunk with him every night]; but seemed to despair of rousing the Cardinal to attack you: which my friend believes to be only a feint, the better to conceal the thing, which he believes to be come to some maturity; and he has taken notice, as well as myself, of the mild words the Bishop uses in favour of the Cardinal. The last night, upon talking of his frozen disposition, the Bishop said, "He was a Venus in the field of Mars, and a Mars in the field of Venus; but that he hoped he would act like Mars in both, as he ought, at this juncture." He told me, "that the Court had taken the hint [he gave the hint], and Hay was to be no more of their parties;" and, on the other hand, I have taken care that Phillips shall be sent from hence.

The fleet you are fitting out creates several reasonings; and some will have it, that it is only to frighten Spain, and that it will go no farther than Spithead; and others, that it is to intercept the galleons; but that, in short, if Spain does not sign, and Holland delays, *they design* to work you. It is absolutely necessary I should go to Fontainbleau. I can say no more at present, as Brett and O'Connor are coming into my room; but, believe, I shall be faithful and diligent, and wish you all success in your undertakings. I shall want a small sum more. They say you have sent Col. Churchill to Hay.

A P P E N D I X, N^o III.

SPEECH OF FRANCIS LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, BEFORE
THE HOUSE OF LORDS*, ON SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1723.

MY LORDS,

I HAVE been under a very long and close confinement, in which I have been treated with such severity, and so great indignities, as, I believe, no Prisoner in the Tower, of my *age*, *infirmities*, *function*, and *rank*, ever underwent: by which means, what little strength and use of my limbs I had, when committed in *August* last, is now so far impaired, that I am very unfit to appear before your Lordships on any occasion; especially, when I am to make my Defence against a Bill of so extraordinary a nature and tendency.

I mention this, not so much in the way of *complaint*, as *excuse*; hoping that, whatever *defects* your Lordships may observe in me, will be imputed to the true cause, not my want of *innocence*, or *arguments* to support it (my Counsel †, I thank them, have amply shewed that I want neither), but to the great weakness of body and mind under which I labour. Such usage, such hardships of every kind, such insults as I have undergone, might have broken a more resolute spirit, and a much firmer constitution than has fallen to my share.

Your Lordships were pleased to permit me to appear before the Commons by *Counsel*, or in *Person*, if I thought fit. Lest that should be turned to my disadvantage, (as in fact the Counsel ‡ for the Bill have turned it); lest I should be thought to have declined *any* occasion of justifying myself; I crave leave to acquaint your Lordships with *some* of the reasons, why I *did not think fit* to make use of the liberty you gave me.

* In the Fourth Volume, p. 383, this Speech has been already printed, so long since as 1790, from a copy collated with an authentic MS. in the possession of Dr. Morice. But I have since been favoured by that gentleman with another copy, transcribed *verbatim* from a MS. in his possession, in the Bishop's own handwriting; which I shall here subjoin, without destroying the article already printed. By the collation of them, which is curious, it evidently appears that the one now given received the Bishop's LAST CORRECTIONS.

† Sir Constantine Phipps and Mr. Wynne.

‡ Mr. Reeves and Mr. Wearg.

March

March 11. It was by the House of Commons thus *Resolved*, "That it *appears* to this House, that Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester was *principally* concerned in *forming, directing, and carrying on*, a wicked and detestable conspiracy, for invading these Kingdoms with a foreign force, and for raising Insurrections and a Rebellion at home, in order to subvert our present Establishment in Church and State, by placing a Popish Pretender on the throne." Upon duly weighing which *Resolution*, and the copy of the *Bill* afterwards sent me, I found not that there was any thing charged in that *Bill*, but what was fully contained, and had been previously *resolved* in this Vote. And therefore, whatever should have been offered in my behalf to *that* House must have carried with it an express contradiction to a solemn determination already made by them. And with what hopes of success such an attempt would have been made, I need not say. What they sent me was really the *Preamble* of a *Bill* only; which they could not alter, consistently with what they had *Resolved*. The *Bill* itself, that is, the *Enacting* part, inflicting *Pains and Penalties*, was to follow. But there was no room for objecting against any of these, which were not then declared. They have *since* been added, and sent up to your Lordships (in like manner as the *Resolution* of March 11, passed) without *bearing* the Person accused, without *oath* made, or any criminal accusation brought against him by any living *witness* whatsoever. And yet the Person, thus sentenced below to be *deprived* of all his *preferments*, and his very *function*, to suffer perpetual *exile*, to be rendered *incapable* of any *office*, or *employment*, or even of any *pardon* from the Crown; and with whom no man must hereafter converse, or *correspond*, by *letter, message, or otherwise*, without being guilty of *felony*, is a Bishop of the Church of England, and a Lord of Parliament; the very *first* instance (I apprehend) wherein a Member of *this* House has been *so* treated, *so* prejudged, *so* condemned *originally* in *another*! and may it be the last! though such precedents, once set, seldom stand single! but are apt, without a blessing, to be fruitful and multiply in after-times!

The *whole* *Bill* is now before your Lordships; not the *Preamble*, or *Recitals* only, but the *Enacting* part also. I have had liberty both to clear myself from the *Charge* brought, and also humbly to object against the *Penalties* intended. You have not precluded your judgement by any previous *Resolution* concerning my guilt: You are capable of examining into the truth of matters upon *oath*, and with all the solemn forms of

a Legal Judicature. And therefore I have entered upon my Defence here readily ; and have with *some* satisfaction reflected, that upon your Lordships' wise and just determination the fate of this Bill must depend.

My *Counsel* have done their part, by arguing the points of *Law* ; by explaining and enforcing the *evidence* on my side, and invalidating the little *colours*, *appearances*, and *shadows* of *proof* (permit me to *call* them what I have *proved* them) that have been produced on the other ; and by setting out the *consequences*, with which a Bill, founded on such a *bottom*, carried on in such a *manner*, and enacting such severe *penalties*, must, and will be attended.

It may become *me* also to say somewhat for myself ; lest my silence should be interpreted into a consciousness of guilt, or, at least, an unwillingness to enter into matters, of so dark and perplexed, or so nice and tender a nature, that I either was not *able*, or did not *care* to explain myself upon them ; and chose therefore to leave all to the management of *others*. I thank God, I am under no such restraints ; and can speak to your Lordships on this subject with great freedom and plainness.

[On the opposite leaf the Bishop has made this Note, " Here the account of Hardships." They are stated on the cover of the Speech, and are as follows :

Reading Extracts of Anonymous Letters, without suffering any other parts of the same Letters, though relating to the same subjects, to be read.

Excusing the decypherer from answering questions, lest he should reveal the rules of his art.

Not suffering me to ask the Clerks of the Post-office questions necessary to my defence, lest the secrets of the Office should be discovered.

Not suffering a person who has been near ten years out of the Secretary's Office to answer any questions relating to the Government (however necessary to my defence) which came to his knowledge by reason of his having been in that Office.

Reading examinations, neither dated, signed, nor sworn to.

Reading Letters, supposed to be criminal, written in another man's hand, and supposed to be dictated by me, without offering any proof, though called upon, that I either dictated them, or was privy to them.

Not allowing me copies of the decyphered Letters (though petitioned for) till the trial was so far advanced, that I had not sufficient time to consider them.

Not

Not allowing me to read, out of the collection of papers before the House, any part of them, in order to discharge myself, but what had been read to charge me.

And all this in a Proceeding, where the Counsel for the Bill professed they had no *Legal Evidence*, nor were to be confined to the Rules of any Court of Law or Equity; though, when it was for their service, they constantly sheltered themselves under them.]

The General Charge of the Bill is, "That I have been deeply concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on a wicked and detestable Conspiracy, and a principal Actor therein."

The two Heads into which this General Charge is divided are these:

1. "That I traitorously consulted, and corresponded with divers Persons, to raise an Insurrection and Rebellion against his Majesty within this Kingdom, and to procure a foreign force to invade the same, in order to depose his Majesty, and place the Pretender on his Throne."

2. "That I traitorously corresponded with the said Pretender, and Persons employed by him, knowing them to be so employed."

But has either part of this Charge been made good by the Counsel for the Bill? Have they *proved* (or *attempted to prove*) me guilty of any one *Consultation*, for the purposes alleged? Is there any thing in the Reports, or Appendixes, that *tends* towards such a proof, except the idle story of the *Burford Club*, and two or three hear-say informations, wherein I am mentioned, together with the Lords *Strafford*, *Orrery*, *Kinnoul*, *North*, and Sir *Henry Goring*, as concerned in the management of this affair?

I have met all these Lords, I own, at different times: but, upon the best recollection I can make, I never in all my life was with any *Three* of them at once, unless perhaps at some general Meeting about affairs then depending in Parliament.

The Earl of *Strafford* has visited me now and then, and I him, when I had health; and I have dined with him once at his house, and but once that I remember.

At my Lord *North's* table I have not eat so much as once; and though I have a great honour for that noble Lord, yet I never had any intimacy with him; especially since the affair of the *Dormitory*, wherein he appeared against me with so remarkable a zeal, that I had certainly lost the cause, if his affairs had not called him into *Holland* while it was depending. *Lawson* indeed has sworn from *Farnden* (who denies it), that
this

this Lord often visited me at *Bromley*. But in truth he never was there above twice, or *thrice* in all his life; and, if he had been there oftener, a good account might have been given of such an intercourse: for he is a *tenant* of the Bishoprick.

With my Lord *Kinnoul*, I verily believe, I have not been once these two years; nor met my Lord *Orrery* upon any business whatever, but that of *Parliament*, during the same time; and *twice*, I think, we dined together at the houses of two Great Persons, whose names if I should mention, your Lordships would not think any harm done, or intended, at those Meetings.

Sir *Henry Goring* I scarce ever visited in my life. He has seen me indeed several times at the Deanry, but not once at Bromley. And the occasion of such visits was, his placing four of his sons at Westminster-school (where, I think, they still are), and his intention to breed up some of them for the College. But Mr. *Caryl's* information upon hear-say (as all the rest against me are) about a *rupture* between us, is so far from being true, that the very last time I saw Sir Henry (above a twelvemonth ago) I promised him to bring in one of his sons upon the foundation; and shall be sorry if I cannot be able to be as good as my word.

Your Lordships will excuse the *particularity* of my accounts, when you consider how dangerous a thing it is, for any man to be thought too well acquainted with me; and how fit it is therefore that I should clear the persons charged from so mischievous an imputation: especially since with *these*, and *these* only, I am reported, or insinuated, to have held *Consultations* to forward the Conspiracy; the *first* grand *Article* of my *General Charge*: and indeed a Conspiracy *without* Consultations is not very *intelligible*! How that Article has been made good, your Lordships will judge; not one overt-act, or circumstance of time and place, being proved, or alleged. I have not therefore consulted and conspired here at home.

The next (and the only material) part of the Charge is, my "corresponding abroad with the Pretender, and those employed by him, knowing them to be so employed," an high and heinous Accusation, my Lords! strongly asserted, much insisted on! but how maintained, is the question. The true state of this part of my Charge, as fairly and fully as I can collect it, is this. I will not, in any degree, dissemble the force of it.

1. That I did (April 20, 1722,) dictate three Letters *, to Mr. *Dillon*, the late Lord *Már*, and the Pretender himself,

* See these under the above date, vol. II. pp. 146—155.

under the feigned names of *Chivers*, *Musgrave*, and *Jackson*; to which Letters the names of *Jones* and *Illington*, and the number 1378 (all denoting me), were by my direction subscribed.

2. That afterwards two Letters from two of these, *Mar* and *Dillon* (of the dates of May 11 and July 25), were sent me, under the feigned names of *Motfield* and *Dixwell*, and intercepted coming to me.

3. That a certain intercepted Correspondence between the Pretender's Agents abroad, and some Persons here, attributed partly to Mr. Kelly, and partly to Mr. Carte, on this side, was directed *by me*; and that I was at the *head* of it; and am therefore answerable for what is contained in it.

This is the *substance* of my Charge. All the other particulars are *circumstantial*, and made use of only as they are thought to give light or strength to one or other of these Articles.

As to the first of these points, That I did not, and could not possibly dictate these three Letters, has been made out to your Lordships by such a concurrence of evidence (clear, full, and legal evidence), as, I persuade myself, must have left no doubt remaining on the mind of any candid and indifferent person.

A plain matter of fact, supported by such united testimonies, cannot be overthrown by those little guesses and consequential surmises which are brought to shake it. Indeed I was under the known difficulty of proving a *Negative*, which, in many cases, is not to be done. But it so happened in this case, that the peculiar circumstances attending this point of time, and never concurring in any other part of my life, have enabled me to do it; and, as they have given great advantages towards colouring the Charge brought against me, so have they given me still greater towards removing it. My being disabled, and confined to my bed, or chair, and attended every minute, day and night, before, at, and after that time, by some of my servants, and receiving frequent messages by others, about my wife's illness, and approaching death; the agreeing testimony of the whole family, that no *stranger* came near me about this time; and the coincidence of the Election for the School of Westminster, which enabled my several servants to recollect the times at which they were either *with* me, or *from* me; have concurred towards furnishing me with such a proof of my innocence in this matter, as, I hope, is not to be withstood.

The

The Clerks of the Post-office do indeed swear, that they believe these three Letters to have been in the hand of Mr. Kelly, my *supposed Amanuensis*. But your Lordships will remember, that their oaths were at four months distance from the time of their seeing the Originals; that, during that whole series of Letters stopped and copied, they never had an opportunity of comparing one Original with another; and that the only Original of August 20, which they detained as a specimen of the rest, has been proved, at your Bar, by several witnesses, not to be in the hand of Mr. Kelly. And you will likewise please to remember, that the *very supposition* of Mr. Kelly's being my Secretary for such affairs, or even in any degree of intimacy with me, has been shewn to be false, and groundless.

If it be said, *Who* then wrote these three Letters? and with what view were they written? The answer to the latter of these questions is pretty obvious; my being here at your Bar sufficiently explains it. It is enough for *me* to prove, who *did not* write them, and I have proved it abundantly. Let but any momentous part of the Charge brought against me be made out with half the evidence; and I will submit without disputing it. Six or seven such living witnesses would have borne down the testimony of one or two, who should even have *sworn* the contrary. But, where there are *none* on the one side (but only uncertain guesses and specious appearances), and such a number of positive direct witnesses on the other; can your Lordships deliberate a moment on the reasonableness of fixing your judgements; which ought always, even in *doubtful* cases, to lean towards the *favourable* side?

I shall therefore take this point as established; and, if it be, there is an end of the whole Charge; for all the other reasonings on feigned names, and obscure passages in Letters depending on this, must fall with it.

As to the other part of the Accusation on this head, that the letter to *Jackson* was a letter to the *Pretender*, I have nothing to do with it: he that wrote that Letter, when known, will best be able, as he is most concerned, to disprove it. However, since this objection carries a very odious sound, one of my Counsel took some pains to clear and silence it; and I shall briefly shew your Lordships how that matter stands. *Jackson*, it seems, in a cypher of Plunket's, is said to denote the *Pretender*: therefore, in a Letter supposed to be dictated by me, and put into cypher by Mr. Kelly, it *must* denote him also. Now Plunket's cypher, my Lords, consists of 150 names, of

which not one is ever used in any of the Letters attributed to Mr. Kelly. Three or four of these names are indeed used by persons supposed to have written to Mr. Kelly from abroad; but not one of them is used by him. Nor does Jackson ever in his part of the correspondence stand for the Pretender; though he has forty occasions of mentioning him, it is always under other appellations. Nay, Plunket himself, in all his Letters written upon this cypher, never styles the Pretender Jackson but either Joseph or Jephson. Why should a name in Kelly's correspondence be explained by an article in Plunket's cypher, which Kelly appears no ways to be acquainted with, and which Plunket himself never in this instance used? I forbear any farther repetition on this head; and shall only add, That, at this rate of interpreting the feigned names in one man's Letters by the cypher of another, there is nothing that may not be proved. In the intercepted correspondence, the Pretender is several times styled *Addison*: whereas in Plunket's cypher, *Addison* stands always for the Archbishop of Canterbury. I make this remark with all due regard to that most reverend Prelate; and think it no greater a reflection upon him, than it is upon me to have the name *Justus* allotted me in the same cypher; which yet the Committee of the Lower House esteem an observation of some weight; *else*, they would not have given it a place in their Report.

There is a fourth Letter to Dubois, of which little need be said, because no use has been yet made of it. It was charged in the Report as a Letter I had *received*, which discovered one of the fictitious names belonging to me. The tables are now turned; and I myself now designed to send this Letter to a feigned correspondent, but kept it among my papers, under my original seal. To what end, my Lords? for the Letter itself is an errant trifle, and not worth preserving. Why, to furnish a proof (which was very much wanted) of my answering letters by the hand of Mr. *Johnson*, alias *Kelly*. Very strange! that I, who am represented as being so cautious on all *other* occasions, should be so careless on *this*; and preserve such a slight note of my own, which could be of no use to me, and yet might hurt me so much, when discovered! And had I written or dictated it, 'tis absurd to think that I should use a feigned name only for my correspondent, and mention Mr. *Kelly*, without disguise, by the name *Johnson*, which (as the Committee of the Lower House observe on this very occasion) *was the name by which he constantly went*.

I know

I know not what farther can be said on this matter, till the Counsel have farther explained themselves, and told us what use they intend to make of the experiments about the similitude of seals, which has given your Lordships so much trouble, and which, I own, I do not comprehend.

However, this Letter to Dubois, as insignificant as it may be in other respects, yet thus far is of use; as it shews the weakness of any Charge that is supported by such uncertain conjectures and precarious reasonings. Two schemes have been advanced concerning it, contradicting each other. *One* of them *must*, and *both may* be false: and whichsoever is true, yet nothing to the disadvantage of the person accused can be built upon either. The extraordinary step lately taken at the Tower, to discover somewhat that might fortify the new conjectures raised on this Letter, do, I think, shew that they were not much depended on. Else, surely, it had not been worth while to endeavour to strengthen them by such an unusual act of violence.

The second Article of my Charge is, that two letters from *Mar* and *Dillon*, under the feigned names of *Motfield* and *Dixwell*, were intercepted coming to me. One of these the Counsel for the Bill has dropped: but I shall consider *both* of them. That they *reached* me, is not affirmed; that I *answered* them, is not *pretended*. Both the Letters are mere compliments, without a criminal expression, or a word of business in either of them. They would affect me indeed in some degree, *if received*, as the persons supposed to have written them are such, with whom I ought to maintain no correspondence. But is that *proved*, as well as *supposed*? Is there any evidence concerning the *hand* in which they were written? Not a word; and yet that seems very necessary, in order to *ascertain* the Charge. Any man that pleases may write to me, and take to himself what feigned names he pleases. But I am not answerable for such Letters, unless I appear to have received and approved them, and to have kept up the correspondence; nothing of which kind is in this case attempted to be made out.

The Letter from *Motfield* to *Illington*, May 11, cannot reasonably be thought to have been written with any other view, than that of being intercepted, and of fixing on me the Letter of April 20 to *Musgrave*; the receipt of which is there owned, and something is farther added to point out my function, and circumstances, and prevent mistakes. This Letter is com-

mitted to the common post, and sent upon its errand. One may doubt, *who* wrote it; but one cannot doubt with what *design* it was written. Your Lordships' wisdom will see through these malicious disguises, and not make me accountable for Letters, thus bandied to and fro in the dark between two unknown correspondents, on purpose to raise suspicions of a *third* person, altogether a stranger to what is doing.

And here, my Lords, I desire that the observation made by my Counsel may not be forgotten: That, in all the intercepted Letters from abroad, the *persons*, that lie hid under *fictitious names*, are scarce ever discovered, and pointed out by the addition of such *facts, dates*, and particular *circumstances*, as may fasten those names upon them: so that the Committee, though they make a shift to *guess*, yet are often at a loss to *say* with any *assurance*, *who* is meant by them. In my case only the matter is otherwise. For the fictitious names applied to *me* are attended generally with such *descriptions*, and *circumstantial accounts*, as may naturally lead those, who should intercept the Letters, to fix on *me*. The writers of them use their art, not to *disguise*, but *open* the scene; and seem to be in pain, lest they should not be well enough understood, wherever they would have it *thought* that *I* am concerned. Now this being contrary to the methods of reserve practised by them in all other cases, smells strongly of contrivance.

The letter of July 25, from *Dixwell* to *Weston*, is an exception in this case, and is not so well contrived, as it should have been, if I am to be understood by *Weston*. It is written upon the plan of those circumstances I was under, two or three months before; which the writer had heard of, and unluckily applied at a juncture, when they were altogether improper and impertinent. And though he reached his aim, in one respect, that his Letter was intercepted; yet he missed it in another; for it does not *describe* me.

My Lords, these two are the only instances of Letters said to be written to me from abroad. They are not sufficient, when duly considered, even to blast a man's *fame*. Shall they contribute to affect me in so high a manner as is intended?

It remains to be considered, in the third place, whether a certain intercepted correspondence between the Pretender's agents abroad, and Mr. Kelly here, was really directed by me; whether I was at the head of it, and am therefore to answer for what is contained in it.

That

That I am not, Mr. Kelly himself, I hear, has owned at your Bar; and declared that he never imparted a line to me of any one Letter he wrote to foreign parts.

I meddle not with what concerns *him* any farther than it may be thought to affect *me*. And the chief instance of this kind which occurs, is the present of the *aog*, said to be made to Mr. *Jones*, or Mrs. *Illington*.

The true account of that matter is, that in a Letter to *Hatfield*, May 5, from one who signs 918 (interpreted *Mar*), are these words: "The little dog was sent ten days ago, and ordered to be delivered to you." But there is no intimation in this, or any other Letter from *abroad*, that the present was intended further. In two other Letters from hence (by whom written does not yet appear) somebody is mentioned under the different names of Mr. *Jones*, and Mrs. *Illington*, in such a manner as if the present had been designed for that person; but with such absurd circumstances as are neither applicable to my wife, nor me. Particularly, May 7, in a letter from *Hatfield*, it is said, "Mrs. Illington is in great tribulation for poor Harlequin;" which being five days after the burial of my wife, cannot mean *her*; and, being *but* five days after it, can as little mean *me*. So that the writer of this Letter must either have known nothing of my family-affairs; or, if he did, must have dissembled his knowledge of them, in order to raise a suspicion of me with relation to this present. And in either case, what he says is not to be regarded.

The French Surgeon and Mr. Kelly, who only know any thing of this matter, clear me. Mrs. Barnes has varied in her evidence; and has sometimes affirmed, and sometimes denied, that the dog was for me. But the most she has ever said on that head is, that Mr. Kelly *once* told her so. For myself, I can with all truth and seriousness say, That I never asked, received, or saw this present; nor know any thing of it but from *common fame*; nor have I to this day had any letter, or message whatsoever from any one concerning it.

The aim of this little contrivance seems to have been, to point me out as the person, to whom the names of *Jones* and *Illington*, subscribed to the Letters of April 20, belonged, by using them again on the occasion of this present; and taking care so to manage the whole, as that it should become matter of public discourse. And, perhaps, they were not much in the wrong, who thought that one intercepted *dog* might be as useful to this purpose as *ten* intercepted *Letters*.

However, *both* ways were tried ; and *must* have succeeded, had I not been able to prove, that those Letters were not written by my order, or with my knowledge. And, therefore, the use of such names in subsequent Letters is only a continuance of the fraud thus begun ; and the latter is easily accounted for, when once we are satisfied of the former. And this observation runs through the whole of this correspondence, wherever the names of *Jones* and *Illington* occur. To apply these to me because they are *said* to belong to me in the Letters of April 20, is to beg the very point that is denied, and has not only been denied, but disproved with all manner of evidence and clearness.

My Counsel have shewn, that some things said of Jones in (what is called) the intercepted correspondence are to the last degree absurd, when applied to me. And no one would ever have thus applied them, but upon a supposition that I dictated the Letter of April 20, to which the name of Jones is subscribed. That supposition is destroyed ; and with it every thing falls, that depends altogether upon it.

The coincidence of my journeys to and from Bromley, with the accounts given by the writers of these Letters, was the point principally relied on to prove, that they had frequent access to me ; and therefore probably wrote by my advice and direction. But your Lordships have heard it made out (and, because it is very material, I shall briefly repeat it) that of *seven* instances of this kind insisted on in the Report of the House of Commons, *three* are manifest mistakes ; *two* only of the accounts are exact ; and *two* others may be right or wrong, as the words are explained in this or that meaning. And had they all been exact, yet nothing could have been inferred from them ; because it was easy for the person, who managed this transaction here, to get an account of my motions from my neighbours and servants, in order to render his contrivance the more plausible and probable.

That Mr. Kelly is no stranger to me, I own : but that he is in any degree *intimate* with me, or frequently saw me, I deny. And what evidence is there for it ? or how is his solemn denial of it at your Bar contradicted ? Mrs. *Kilburn* says, he was once to have dined with me. What then ? *Flower* the Chairman says, he carried him twice or thrice to the Deanry about four years ago, but never found me at home. I believe what he says is false ; but admit it. *Van-lear* the Porter says, he brought a *letter* and some *stockings* from
Mr.

Mr. Kelly to me at the Deanry, and carried once a *scaled note* from me back again to him about Christmas was twelve-month. The foundation of this story is true, that Mr. Kelly furnished me with beaver-stockings and gloves; and therefore I shall not dispute what he says; though that circumstance of a porter's coming up to me in my bed-chamber, at the *dirtiest* time of the year, is very extraordinary. And even this evidence owns, that though he was the person that constantly went on Mr. Kelly's errands, when he was in the way, yet he never was sent by him but *twice* to me in some *years*.

Now, on the other side, there is the evidence of almost *all* my servants and others, who have upon oath attested, that they do not know either the name, or face of Mr. Kelly; which could not possibly be, if he used frequently to resort to me. Such a slight acquaintance as I had with him, could be no temptation to enter into secrets of such a dangerous consequence as those which the Report insinuates to have passed between us. They must know little either of *him* or *me*, that could *suspect* such a thing of me.

However, *suspicion* is not now the business, but *proof*. They that *prove* something, may be allowed to *suspect* more. But they that prove nothing, have no right to indulge their endless suspicions and conjectures to the ruin of any man. For twenty probabilities, allowed to be such, are not equal to one plain matter of fact, well attested. They may strengthen the testimony of a living witness, but they cannot rise up to the force of it. They cannot, of themselves, be evidence either in *Law*, or *Reason*; because one set of probabilities may be opposed by another; and at that rate the mind of the Judge must for ever be kept in suspense. I use this distinction between evidence in *Law*, and evidence in *Reason*, because the Counsel for the Bill seem to have resorted to something like it. Whereas I always thought, that the *Public Law of the State* was the *Public Reason of the State*; and whatever might be *reasonable Evidence* in another country (though, in my conscience, the evidence brought against me would be thought reasonable in none), yet that in this country no evidence could be *Reasonable*, that was not *Legal*.

But I ask, by what sort of evidence, either in *Law*, or *Reason*, has the Charge against me been maintained? How am I proved, in the

1st place, "To have traiterously *consulted* and *corresponded* with divers persons, to raise an *Insurrection* and *Rebellion* against

against his Majesty within this kingdom, and to procure a *foreign force* to invade the same, in order to depose his Majesty, and place the Pretender on his Throne?" How am I proved, in the

Ild place, "To have traiterously *corresponded* with the said *Pretender*, and persons *employed* by him, knowing them to be so employed?"

Is there one Article of either of these Charges made out against me, I say not, in the due forms of Law, but with any colour of Reason? Is any one otherwise supported than by suppositions without proof? nay, by suppositions actually disproved, and shewn to be vain and groundless?

If the Proof brought in these cases wants strength, can the hearsays of *Neyno* afford it any, which do themselves, above all other parts of the Report, want to be proved, and rendered credible?

Neyno pretended not (for aught appears) to know any thing of me: he only quotes Mr. Kelly for his intelligence. Mr. Kelly absolutely denies it; and there is nobody else to back it. I think, such a dead evidence cannot affect Mr. Kelly himself: much less can it affect me, through him, when he declares he never said any such things. Were *Neyno* now alive, and Mr. Kelly dead, and incapable of contradicting him, what *Neyno* pretended to have by hearsay only from Kelly, would not surely be of much weight. Shall what *Neyno* now dead says, and Kelly, now living, contradicts, be thought of any moment?

Concerning Hearsay Evidence in general, and the regard that is due to it, I desire your Lordships that a passage may be read out of Sir John Fenwick's bill of attainder*. There it is recited, as one of the inducements that moved the King, Lords, and Commons, to pass that Act, that he had "contrived and framed false and scandalous papers, as his informations, reflecting on the fidelity of several noble Peers, divers Members of the House of Commons, and others, **ONLY BY HEARSAY.**" Shall that be accepted in this Parliament for evidence, which is declared to have been one motive for attainting a man in another? If it were an aggravation of Sir John Fenwick's guilt to have charged other men by hearsay, shall the being charged be any proof of mine? Surely *that* House of Commons in 1696, which brought in *that* Bill, would not have thought so; nor will those of your Lordships so think, that consented (here,

* The whole Preamble was read.

or elsewhere) to the passing it. And as for those who *did not* consent to it, I may venture to say, that they will be exceedingly puzzled to find a reason, why they opposed Sir John Fenwick's Bill, and yet favour the passing of this. Is the guilt, *objected to me*, if it could be *proved*, in any measure like *his*? or is there any comparison between the proof made against him, and that by which I am attacked? so as to make it unreasonable in *his* case, and reasonable in *mine*, to supply the defects of such proof by an Act of Parliament!

But I return to *Neyno*; into whose character and credibility it is needless to enquire, after the concurrent testimony of those five witnesses, which appeared at your Lordships' Bar on Thursday last. And even without their assistance, the very papers of information given in by *Neyno*, and printed in the Appendix, are sufficient to inform us of his character. It is plain he was prepared to have sworn backwards and forwards, to have affirmed or denied any thing. He was let into all secrets, if you will believe him. He knew, "that a certain Lord of the Council gave me notice of my being to be taken up, some days before it happened;" he knew, even "to what use and purpose the Protests of your Lordships in the last Session were chiefly designed and calculated;" and, as appears from the paper found in his pocket after his death, had *undertaken* to give an account of it. I wonder much, that persons of good discernment should think it worth their while, either to ask, or receive such accounts from him; or even to print the paper, wherein that monstrous article is contained.

He was the late Earl *Marshall's* bedfellow for several nights: from *him* he received *heads*, and upon them drew up *three* several *Memorials* to the Regent. It happened unfortunately, that he kept no copy of these *heads*, nor the *foul draughts* of such *Memorials*; which it imported him in the highest degree to have done, whether he then intended to go on in the way he was in of promoting the conspiracy, or to discover it. In either case, the evidence of his having been thus employed, would have been of great service to him. But he was not able to produce a line of such *heads* or *Memorials*. And yet the Report of the House of Commons upon the basis of these *Memorials* builds the whole fabric of the conspiracy.

He knew, what nobody else ever knew, that I have lain hid under the name of *Naunton*; and would, doubtless, have known, who my correspondent *Dubois* was, had the scheme of my writing that letter *myself* been *then* thought of. He
would

would have found out a reason for my corresponding with the Cardinal of that name; and 500*l.* would have made him affirm that he carried the Letter himself; though perhaps afterwards he would not have stood to his word!

He knew the Pretender's particular opinion of *me* (or of any body else, if it had been thought fit to ask him); "that he relied on advices from me more than from any man." How did he know it? Kelly told him so! But who told Kelly this? for it is not to be supposed that a man of Mr. Kelly's rank had it from the Pretender himself, but from persons of an higher station, and nearer to the Pretender. Let me therefore consider, as one of my Counsel also has done, how this part of Neyno's evidence *must* stand, upon the foot of a certain paper in the Appendix, intituled, "Notes taken by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer," &c. A right honourable person hears Neyno say, that he heard Kelly say, what Kelly must have heard persons of greater figure say, that they had heard the Pretender say concerning the Bishop of Rochester. And by this chain of hearsays thus deduced am I proved to be a sort of first Minister to the Pretender.

Let me speak, my Lords, (always, I hope, with that modesty which becomes an accused person, but yet) with the freedom of an Englishman. Had nothing been opened to you concerning this man's character and secret transactions, could you possibly have believed the romantic tales he has told? Could this pretender to secrets have had, or shall he still have, any weight with you? who threw away his life, rather than venture to stand to the truth of what he had said? Shall this man do more mischief by his death, than he could have done, if living? For then he would have been confronted, puzzled, confounded. Shame and consciousness might have made him unsay what he had said: but a dead man can retract nothing. What he has written, he has written: the accusation must stand just as it is; and we are deprived of the advantages of those confessions, which truth and remorse had once extorted, and would again have extorted from him. However, I could have been glad to have had *all* that even *this* witness said; and would have hoped, that, by a comparison of the several parts of the story, he at several times told, some light might have been gained that now is wanting; particularly by the knowledge of what he said freely and voluntarily, and in good humour, before his rough usage, upon his return from Deal, had frightened

frightened him into new confessions. But, I think, we have the evidence only of a few of the *last days* of his life. All the preceding time, when he was most in the favour and confidence with a great man, is a *blank*; we have no account of it; and yet, it is said, he underwent frequent examinations during that time: but they were not, it seems, so maturely weighed and digested, as to be thought worth being committed to writing.

But he is gone to his place, and has answered for what he said at another Tribunal. I desire not to blemish his character, any farther than is absolutely necessary to my own just *Defence*; which I shall now pursue *farther*, by considering,

1. The *Inconsistency* of some parts of the Charge brought against me, and the *Improbability* of the whole.

The Report takes notice of *three* several *branches*, or *stages*, of the Conspiracy; the first, which, in consequence of some Memorials to the Regent, was to have taken place, *during the Elections*; the second, upon the King's going to Hanover; the third, upon the breaking-up of the Incampment.

There is not an hint of my guilt, as to the last of these three designs, in any paper whatsoever. And yet the Recitals of the Bill mention this third branch of the Plot, and that most *detestable* part of it, the intention of *laying violent hands on his Majesty*; and charge me afterwards with the *whole*. And the Counsel for the Bill have opened it very gravely with an account of Mr. Laver's Scheme, as if I had some concern in it! These may be, for aught I know, *Forms of Law*, usual in such Charges: but surely, they are in themselves *cruel artifices*, to involve a man in the appearances of guilt, where there is not the least colour or pretence for charging him.

Indeed, as to the *first* branch of the Conspiracy, which, they say, was to have taken place *during the Elections*, the Committee suppose me not to have been ignorant. The only reason for it is, a passage in the Letter to *Jackson*, where it is said, *the present opportunity is elapsed*; i. e. (say the Committee out of the plenitude of their interpreting power) *the opportunity of the Elections, most of which were then over*.

To clear this point, and withal to shew how *inconsistent* the several parts of my accusation are, I shall recite the entire passage, as it lies in that Letter, and make some reflections upon it.

"Notwithstanding this opportunity is elapsed" (says the writer to *Jackson*) "I AGREE WITH YOU, another may offer BE-

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FORE THE END OF THE YEAR, though not perhaps every way so favourable." The *Committee suppose* this to have been a Letter to the *Pretender*; and they *suppose* this Letter to have been dictated by *me*; and they *suppose* these words of it to refer to the *time* of the *Elections*; and from these three suppositions *infer*, that I knew somewhat of a design *then* to take place. On the contrary, I shall, even upon the two first of these suppositions, shew that it is impossible, the *last* of the three, and the *inference* drawn from thence, should hold.

If this were a Letter from *me*, or from *any one*, to the Pretender, it must have been in answer to one from *him*, repeating his very expressions, and agreeing with his opinion there declared, that a certain *opportunity was elapsed*. And his opinion expressed in that Letter must have been founded on intelligence before received from England: which intelligence, considering the distance between London and Rome, must have been communicated two months, at least, if not longer, before the date of this Letter. And, if we go back two months from April 20, the opportunity of the *Elections* was *then* so far from being *elapsed*, that it was not in some time to happen. Consequently, the opportunity hinted at in that Letter, whatever it meant, could not possibly mean the time of the Elections, if this Letter was (as the Committee not only *suppose*, but *affirm*) a Letter *to*, and in answer to one written *from* the Pretender.

My Lords, I am not now proving, that this *was not* a letter to the *Pretender*, nor written by *me* (those two points have been so well settled already by my Counsel, as to need no farther clearing); but I am observing to your Lordships (as I have a *right* to do) how *inconsistent* the Charge is; since, if this had been a Letter to the Pretender, it is impossible, these words of it should refer to the time of Elections; and again, if they do refer to that time, it is impossible this should have been a Letter to the Pretender.

The *Inconsistence* of the Charge may also from the same passage of this Letter be manifested in *another* respect. For the person writing it (April 20) if it be a Letter written in good earnest, appears to have *then* given over all thoughts of any new opportunity that would offer, till towards the *end of the year*. ["I agree with you," says he, that "another opportunity may offer before the end of the year."] And yet the Committee find some words in a Letter written ten days afterwards [May 1], wherein the Bishop, under the feigned name of

of Jones, is supposed to be making some military preparations, and deeply engaged in that *Second Branch* of the Conspiracy, which, they say, was designed upon the King's going to Hanover. How do these things *consist*? If I wrote, or dictated that Letter, I could not be engaged in the *Second Branch* of the Conspiracy. If I *was* engaged in it, how can I be imagined to have written that Letter? *Both* cannot be true; yet *both* are charged: but both may be false: and, I hope, I have satisfied your Lordships, that, as I did not dictate the one, so I was no ways concerned in the other. Can any one believe that I was, who reflects on the sad circumstances I was then under? Afflicted by the death of my wife, not then interred, and deprived of the use of all my limbs by a severe fit of the gout! Was that a time for Jones to *provide himself* (as the phrase is) *with an easy saddle*? Is there a man so far under the power of prejudice, as to believe that such an expression, at such a juncture, is applicable to me?

I forbear *farther instances*, though they are numerous; but I am naturally led by *this* to consider the *Improbability* (as well as *Inconsistence*) of the Charge brought against me. For, my Lords, since I am accused, without positive proof, by *Probabilities* alone, you will allow me to answer my Indictment, in the same manner it is laid, and to set *one Collection of Probabilities* against *another*.

Is it probable, my Lords, that, if I were engaged in any such design, no footsteps should appear of any correspondence I had with the late Duke of Ormond, to whom, of all the persons abroad, I was best known, and for whom I had the greatest regard, and still have all the regard that is consistent with my duty to my King and my Country?

Is it probable, that I should choose rather to engage thus deeply with two persons, one of which I never saw, and with the other I was but slightly acquainted, when he left England? Did I not know (what all the world knew) that he had left the Pretender's service now for several years, and was supported by a pension from hence? Was this a season for me to enter into confidence with him about restoring the Pretender? and to do this, not by messages, but letters; and those sent, not by expresses, but by the common post, and containing such accounts of my circumstances and condition at that time (the most remarkable period of all my life) as, if they were intercepted, would go a good way towards fixing them upon me? that, by thus writing to *him* by the post,

post, I should, as it were, invite him, after the same manner, to write to *me*, and by that means furnish new opportunities towards detecting the design, and bringing myself into danger? How, at this rate, does that character of caution and wariness, under which I am represented, at all belong to me? Must I not have been the most rash and indiscreet of men, if I laid myself open in so foolish a manner? Was I secure, and thought I should not be watched and observed? It is plain, from a postscript to one of those Letters, that the writer of them (whoever he was) thought otherwise. Could a man write that P.S. wherein he resolves to send nothing by the post, and yet send that very Letter by the post? Is it not much more probable that the artful contriver of it intended by this means to account for the non-interception of any Letters from the same person afterwards? This is a consistent scheme; the other is a wild absurdity!

Is it probable, that, when I was attending the sick-bed of my wife, and expecting her death, not only daily, but hourly, I should enter into negotiations of that kind, and never afterwards, when I was more at ease and liberty, resume them? There was no need of dispatching at *that* time any *one* of these three Letters: the *matter* of them required no expedition. They are *mere excuses* for *not writing*; and, had I been the inditer, the *known* circumstances of my *family* and *health* would have been a sufficient apology for my silence; and a third hand would *as* effectually, and *more* decently, have conveyed the excuse.

Is it probable, that, when I was carrying on public buildings of various kinds, at Westminster and Bromley; when I was consulting all the books of the Church of Westminster from the foundation, and was engaged also in a correspondence with two learned men *, about a subject of great use, and equal difficulty, the settling the times of writing the Four Gospels; that I should at that very time be *directing* and *carrying* on a Conspiracy? He that can entertain such a thought of me, without reason, may also condemn me without a witness; and arguments will signify nothing to him.

Is it probable, that I should hold meetings and consultations to form and forward this conspiracy, and yet nobody living know where, when, and with whom they were held? That I, who lived always at home, and never, when at the Deanry, stirred out of one room, where I received all company promiscuously, and denied not myself to any, should have oppor-

* Bp. Potter and Dr. Wall.

tunities of concerting such matters? Or, if I had, yet that none of my domestics, or friends, with whom I most familiarly lived, should ever observe any appearances of this kind? That, if I had been in these measures, no evidence of it would have been found in my papers, which were all at once seized at both my houses, and sifted with the utmost exactness? That, after above eight months imprisonment, and above twelve months diligent enquiry into my conduct, and correspondence, my friendships, and acquaintances; after confining all my men-servants (but one) now for seven weeks, and searching me twice in the Tower itself, in order to make new discoveries; nothing of consequence should appear against me, nor any one living witness charge me with any thing really criminal?

Is it probable, that I should form and direct a Conspiracy, that was to be carried on by force of arms, and to owe all its success to the operations of war; with which I am no more acquainted than I am with the persons fit to be employed on those occasions? My way of life has not led me to be conversant with such men, and such matters. I have sat in *Chambers*, in *Convocations*, in *Parliaments*; but in a *Council of War* I never sat, much less was at the head of it.

Have I yet in any one instance of my life meddled remarkably out of my own sphere, in affairs that were foreign to my employments and character, and of which I could be no competent judge? I may be thought, perhaps, to have been too active in my proper stations and business; but I was never charged with interposing in matters with which I was no ways acquainted, and should have appeared ridiculous in pretending to conduct.

Is it not rather probable that such a military scheme (if there *were* any such) should have been formed and directed by men of the sword? Must the accusation and punishment, without proof, and without probability, center in me? whose profession and way of life sets me at the greatest distance from such designs, and from the suspicion of being concerned in them!

And yet *I* must be the sacrifice, and suffer almost all the pains and penalties, short of death, which a Parliament can inflict, for a supposed scheme of war, which I do not to this day comprehend; and for which, as far as it appears, I think, the men concerned should be rather pitied as *madmen*, than punished as *traitors*.

Here is a plot of a year or two's standing, to subvert this Government by an armed force. Military preparations are said to have been made for it. There was to be an invasion from abroad, an insurrection and rebellion at home. Just, when it was ripe for execution, 'tis discovered; and, after a twelvemonth's search for the contrivers and conductors of this scheme, no consultations appear to have been held, no money to have been raised, and (which is stranger) no arms, officers, or soldiers, to have been provided. Not a man of the army is engaged in it. *A poor Bishop* has done all, and must suffer for it.

What could tempt me, my Lords, thus to step out of my way? Was it ambition, and a desire of climbing into an higher station in the Church? There was not a man of my order further removed from views of this kind, than I was. I have an hundred times said, and sincerely resolved, that I would be nothing *more* than I was (at a time, when I little thought of being *less*) whatever turns of state should happen: and I could give an instance of this kind, if it were proper, that would shew, I was in earnest.

Was *money* my aim? I always despised it: too much, perhaps, considering the occasion I may *now* have for it. Out of a poor Bishoprick of 500l. a year (for it has been clearly worth no more to *me*), I did in eight years time lay out 2000l. upon the house and what belonged to it. And because I knew the circumstances, in which my predecessor left his family, took not one shilling for dilapidations from his executors. And the rest of my income has all been spent, as that of a Bishop *should* be spent (forgive the boast, my Lords, for it is truth) in hospitality and charity. Nor do I repine at these expences even *now*; not questioning in the least, but that God, who has liberally provided for me hitherto, will provide for me still; and on his good providence I securely depend.

Was I influenced by any dislike of the Established Religion? any secret inclinations towards a Church of greater pomp, and power? for, malice has ventured even *thus* far to asperse me: My Lords, ever since I knew what Popery was, I opposed it to my utmost; and the better I knew it, the more I disliked and opposed it. I began my studies in Divinity when the Popish controversy grew hot with the immortal work of Mr. *Chillingworth*; which I have read from that day to this, with new pleasure, and without satiety. He is no narrow-spirited writer, but the buckler of the Protestant cause in general;

general; and *as such* I esteemed him above all others. You will pardon me, my Lords, if I mention, what one of my Counsel always did, that thirty-seven years ago I wrote in the defence of *Martin Luther*, the great champion of the Reformation; and am perhaps the only *Divine*, or *Member* of this Church, that has defended him in a *Treatise**, expressly written for that purpose, from the infancy of the Reformation to this day. And, whatever happens to me, I will suffer any thing, and would (by God's Grace) burn at a stake, rather than depart in any material point from the Protestant Religion, as professed in the Church of England.

Once more, my Lords, can I be suspected, as entering into any such designs, from any principles I had imbibed, favourable to arbitrary power, and destructive of liberty? The whole tenor of my life speaks otherwise. I was always a friend to the liberty of the subject, and, to the best of my power, a constant maintainer of it. I may be thought mistaken in the measures I took for its support, at junctures, when it might be looked upon as *expedient* for the State to *seem* to neglect Public Liberty, in order, I suppose, to secure it. But this error (if it were one) was only a misapplication of the principle, which I always steadily and unvariably pursued: while I saw others, who would be thought the great patrons of liberty, undermining the very foundations of it. *Names* may alter, but *things* continue always the same. I mattered not by what party-term I was called, so my actions were uniform, and of a piece.

To return therefore to the point, from which I may seem to have digressed. The *Charge* brought against me, and in the manner it is brought, is, under all the views we can take of it, improbable and incredible. If I could be guilty of it, I must have acted under a spirit of infatuation; and yet I have not been hitherto thought an *idiot*, or a *mad-man*.

My Lords, as to the *Pains and Penalties*, contained in this Bill, they are great and grievous beyond example to a man in my circumstances. I find them no where, but in the Act for banishing the Earl of Clarendon: nor even *there*, in the same extent, either as to their *nature*, or *duration*. For it is particularly provided by that Act, that the Pains and Penalties of it should cease, if by a day prefixed the Earl rendered himself to justice. I am *here*, my Lords, and have been here, expecting for eight months my *Legal Trial*. Was ever any man in the same case, banished by Act of Parliament?

* See this Tract at large in this Collection, vol. IV. pp. 12, et seqq.

Upon an impeachment by the House of Commons that noble Earl *fled*; and with reason, as the temper of the times then was: however, he *fled*. I have declined no Impeachment, no due course of Law that might have been taken; and yet I am to be *banished*! A *Correspondence* indeed with that Earl was made *Treason*; with *me* it is only *Felony*: that is, *one* witness may prove such a correspondence, with *me*; had *Treason* been the consequence, *two* would have been requisite.

He was allowed an intercourse with *his children* by the express words of the Act: mine are not so much as to write or send a message to me without a *Sign Manual*.

What is most particular in my case is (I will speak it *distinctly*, that my Right Reverend Brethren may *bear* it), I am *rendered* (as far as the Civil Power can render me), *incapable of using or exercising any office, function, authority, or power, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, whatsoever*; not only in any of his Majesty's dominions (no such limitation is expressed), but, for aught I can find, any where in Christendom! As if we held such Spiritual Powers, not from Christ himself, but by the authority and at the pleasure of an Act of Parliament!

Why should I dwell on the other parts of my punishment, or trouble your Lordships with pleas for mitigation? I insist on my *innocence*; my *real*, as well as *legal* innocence; that I *am* not guilty; and, if I were, am not *proved* so. If your Lordships thus judge, I am sure, you will quash the Bill; for you are *just*. If you shall judge otherwise, yet, I persuade myself, you will temper it; for you are merciful. You will not strip a man of his subsistence, and then send him where he cannot subsist. You will not first exercise severity upon him yourselves, and then hinder others from performing any acts of common humanity towards him. You will not give him less time to order his private affairs, and depart the Kingdom, than has been taken to carry the Bill through the two Houses. You will not, in a fortnight after the Act passes, divest him of his Preferments, the chief profits of which he has now lost for near a year, because of his confinement. *You* will have the *goodness*, at least, not to bar the *King* from shewing *his*, *if*, and *when* he shall see occasion; nor render him to any of his poor subjects less the image of God than he is: for *that* resemblance consists more in *pardoning* than *punishing*.

The great man, I mentioned, carried a great fortune along with him into a foreign country. He had *languages*, was well *acquainted* abroad, and had spent the *best* part of his years in *exile*; and was therefore every way qualified to support it.

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The reverse of all this is my fate ! Indeed I am like him in nothing, but his *innocence*, and his *punishment*. 'Tis in no man's power, to make us differ in the *one* : 'tis in your Lordships, to distinguish us widely, in the *other*—and, I hope, you will do it !

But to sum up the argument.—It has been frequently observed to your Lordships that the highest crimes should have the clearest and fullest proof. And yet here is a Charge of High Treason brought, not only without *full* evidence, but without *any* evidence at all, *i. e.* any *such* evidence as the Law of the Land knows and allows. And what is not evidence *at Law* (pardon me for what I am going to say) can never be made such, in order to punish what is past, but by a *violation* of the *Law*. For the Law, which prescribes the *nature* of the *proof* required, is as much the Law of the Land, as that which declares the *crime* ; and *both* must join to convict a man of guilt. And it seems equally unjust to declare any sort of *proof* *legal*, which was *not* so, before a Prosecution commenced for any act done, as it would be, to declare the Act itself, *ex-post-facto*, *criminal*.

Now, there never was a Charge of so high a nature, so strongly pressed, and so weakly *supported*. *Supported*, not by any *living*, or *dead* witness, speaking from his own knowledge, but by mere hearsays, and reports from others ; contradicted by the very persons, from whom they are said to be derived. *Supported*, not by any one criminal *deed* proved to have been *done*, not by any one criminal *line* proved to have been *written*, or *received*, not even by any one criminal *word* proved to have been spoken by me : but by Intercepted Letters in a Correspondence to which it *appears* not that *I was*, and to which, it is certain, that *I was not* privy : *some* of these *Letters* shewn to have been contrived with a design of fastening them upon me, as a foundation of the scheme which was to follow ; *others*, written with the same view, employing the same *fictional names*, throwing out dark and suspicious hints concerning the person meant by those names, and endeavouring by little facts, and circumstances, sometimes true, sometimes doubtful, and often false, to point out *that person* to such as should intercept those Letters : who continues all this time a stranger to the whole transaction, and never *makes* the discovery, till he *feels* it, and finds it advanced into a solemn accusation.

My Lords, *this* is *my* case ; I have shewed it so to be ; though I had the hard task upon me of proving a Negative,

and had no other lights to guide me but those the Report affords. And shall I stand convicted before your Lordships by such an *evidence as this*? by the *hearsay of an hearsay* (for this is often the case), and that denied by the very person, into whose testimony all must be resolved; by strained reasonings and inferences from obscure passages and fictitious names in Letters, the contents of which were entirely a secret to me, till I saw them in print: by the conjectures of decyphrerers, without any opportunity given me (though I humbly asked it) to examine into the truth of their explications: by the depositions of *Post-office Clerks*, about the similitude of hands, some of which have been formerly known to be the most dextrous counterfeiters of them; and those depositions made at many months distance from the time of their seeing the first Letters, and without comparing any one of the originals they copied with another: by little *surmises*, and *probabilities*, built on a false bottom, and which (that foundation being shaken) must appear altogether *improbable*: by attempts to render me *suspected* of the *suspicion of Treason*; for nothing more, I am persuaded, can be made of the arguments drawn from what is called the *Intercepted Correspondence*.

Shall I, my Lords, be deprived of all that is valuable to an Englishman (for in the circumstances, to which I am to be reduced, *life* itself is scarce valuable) by *such an evidence as this*! Such an evidence, as would not be admitted in any other *cause*, in any other *Court*; nor allowed, I verily believe, to condemn a *Jew* in the *Inquisitions of Spain, or Portugal*; shall it be received against *me*, a *Bishop* of this *Church*, and a *Member* of this *House*, in a Charge of *High Treason* brought in the High Court of *Parliament*? *God forbid*!

Suffer me, my Lords, (I know you will suffer me) to put you *all* (and particularly my Right Reverend Brethren) in mind of a text of Holy Writ: "Against an Elder receive not an Accusation, but before two or three witnesses." It is not said, *Condemn* him not upon an unsupported accusation; but *receive* it not, give it no countenance, or encouragement. And I am somewhat *more* than an *Elder*, as the word there imports. Shall an accusation against *me* be countenanced, without any *one witness* to maintain it? My Lords, this is not a direction merely for *Ecclesiastical* Judicatories; it was taken by St. Paul from the *Civil* and *Judicial* part of the Law of *Moses*. For there we read, "One witness shall not rise up against a man for any iniquity, or any sin that he sinneth; at the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall

shall the matter be established." And as this Rule was transplanted from the *State* into the *Church*, so would it be no blemish to any Christian State, if they *always* thought fit to follow it in such cases as this now before your Lordships. Shall I be the first *Bishop* of this Church, prosecuted and condemned upon two or three *bearsays*, two or three *conjectures* about *names* and obscure *passages* in Letters, instead of two or three *witnesses*? And will *they*, who seem most concerned to resist this precedent, contribute to *make* it? and to derive the sad influence of it to all succeeding times? and even concur in such an Act as pretends to render me "incapable of using or exercising any office, function, authority, or power, Ecclesiastical, or Spiritual whatsoever?" Is this good *divinity*, or good *policy*? "I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say."

Doubtless, the Legislature is without bounds. It may do what it pleases; and whatever it does is binding. Nay, in some respects it has greater power (with reverence be it spoken) than the Sovereign Legislator of the Universe: for He *can* do nothing *unjustly*. But though no limits can be set to Parliaments, yet they have generally thought fit to prescribe limits to themselves; and so to guide even their proceedings by Bill in criminal cases, as to depart as little as is possible from the known Laws and Usages of the Realm.

The Parliament may, if it thinks fit, by a particular Act, order a criminal to be *tortured* who will not *confess*: for who shall gainsay them? But they never did it, and, I presume, never *will*; because torture, though practised in *other* countries, is unknown in *ours*, and repugnant to the temper and genius of our mild and free Government. And yet, my Lords, it looks, methinks, a little *like* torture, to inflict grievous Pains and Penalties on a person only *suspected* of guilt, but not legally *proved* guilty, in order to extort some confession, or discovery from him. This, in other countries, is called *putting to the question*; and it matters not much by what *engines*, or method, such an experiment is made.

The Parliament may, if it pleases, by an express Law adjudge a man to absolute perpetual *imprisonment*, as well as to perpetual *exile*; without reserving to the Crown a power of determining such imprisonment. They have enacted the one; I find not, they have ever enacted the other. And the reason seems to have been, because our Law, which, above all others, provides for the *liberty* of the subject's person, knows nothing of such *absolute perpetual imprisonment*.

The Parliament may in like manner condemn a man upon a charge of *Accumulative and Constructive Treason*. They did so once, in the case of the great Earl of *Strafford*; but they repented of it afterwards; [and ordered "all the Records and Proceedings of Parliament, relating thereto, to be wholly cancelled, defaced, and obliterated, to the intent the same might not be visible in after-ages, or brought into example to the prejudice of any person whatsoever."] A far *less* man now stands before you, and is attacked by *accumulative* and *constructive* proofs of his guilt; *i. e.* by such proofs, as in themselves, and when taken single and apart, are allowed to prove nothing; but, when taken together, and well interpreted, and explained, are said to give mutual light and strength to each other, and, by the help of certain inferences and deductions, to have all the force, without the formality of evidence. Will such proofs be ever admitted by your Lordships in order to deprive a fellow-subject of his fortunes, his fame, his friends, and his country, and send him in his old age, without language, without limbs, without health, and without a provision for the necessaries of life, to *live*, or rather *starve*, amongst foreigners? I say again, *God forbid!*

My ruin is not of that moment to *any man*, or *any number* of men, as to make it worth their while to *violate* (or even *seem* to violate) the *Constitution* in any degree, to procure it. In preserving and guarding *that* against all attempts, the safety and happiness of every Englishman lies. But when once, by such *extraordinary* steps as these, we depart from the fixed rules and forms of justice, and try *untrodden paths*, no man knows, *whither* they will lead him, or *where* he shall be able to stop, when *pressed* by the crowd that follow him.

Though *I* am worthy of *no regard*; though whatever is done to me may, for that reason, be looked upon as *just*; yet your Lordships will have *some regard* to your *own* lasting interests, and those of the State; and not introduce into criminal causes a sort of evidence, with which the *Constitution* is not acquainted, and which, under the appearance of supporting it, *will* at last (I speak my honest fears) effectually destroy it.

For God's sake, my Lords, lay aside these extraordinary Proceedings! set not these new and dangerous Precedents! and I, for my part, will voluntarily and cheerfully go into perpetual exile, and please myself with the thought, that I have, in some measure, preserved the *Constitution*, by quitting my country; and will *live* (wherever I am) praying for its prosperity, and *die* with the words of Father *Paul* in my mouth,

mouth, which he used of the Republic of Venice, *Esto perpetua!* The way to *perpetuate* it is, not to *depart* from it. Let *me* depart; but let *that* continue fixed on the immoveable foundations of Law and Justice, and *stand* for ever!

I have, my Lords, taken up much of your time; and yet I must still beg your attention. Some parts of my accusation have been disproved by direct and full evidence; particularly *that* of my writing the three Letters of April 20, or even *knowing* who wrote them; which I utterly deny that I ever *did*, or even now *do know*. And yet *this* is the foundation of the whole. Other parts of my Charge there are, not in their nature capable of such a direct disproof, nor indeed requiring it, as being no ways supported by what deserves the name of evidence. And here therefore I was chiefly obliged to rest on the utter *improbability* of the Charge; which, I hope, has been duly manifested. But, my Lords, there is *still* a way of vindicating myself, in cases, where a *General Negative* cannot be *otherwise* cleared. And that is, by *Protesting*, and *Declaring* my Innocence to your Lordships in the most deliberate, serious, and solemn manner, and appealing to God, the Searcher of hearts, for the truth of what I say: as I do in what follows—

I am charged, in the Report, with directing the Intercepted Correspondence, there ascribed to Mr. Kelly, and Mr. Carte. But I solemnly declare, that I never directed, or saw a single *line* of any one of their Letters, till I met them in print; nor were the *contents* of any one of them ever communicated to me.

I do in like manner solemnly declare, that I never was privy to any *Memorial* drawn up to solicit the Regent of France, or his Ministers, to send forces into England, during the *Elections*, or at any other season: which is the *first* branch of the Conspiracy charged in the Report.

Nor was I ever acquainted with the design of any attempt to be made, upon the King's going to *Hanover*; which is the *second*.

Nor did I hear the least rumour of the *third*; which, it seems, was to take place upon the breaking-up of the *Incampment*, till some time after Mr. Layer was committed to the *Tower*.

I do, with the like seriousness and solemnity, declare, That I never *collected*, *remitted*, *received*, or *asked* any money of any man, to facilitate *any* of these designs; nor was I ever privy to *any* remittance whatsoever to *any* of these purposes.

That

That I never transmitted, or drew any *Declaration, Manifesto*, or Paper whatsoever, in the name of the Pretender, as is intimated in the Report (p. 46.) and was directly charged upon me, at my examination.

And that I never knew of any *Commissions* issued, of any preparations of *arms, officers, or soldiers*, here made, or of any methods taken to procure an insurrection in any part of these Kingdoms.

All this, upon the faith of a Christian, I declare to be true, and will so declare to the last gasp of my breath: and I am very sure that the farther your Lordships examine into the truth of these Declarations, the truer you will find them. And yet they contain all the *capital* articles of which I am accused in the Report of the House of Commons.

Had indeed the Charge been as fully proved, as it is strongly asserted, it had been vain, to think of encountering *well-attested facts* by *protestations* to the contrary, though never so solemnly made. But, as that Charge is enforced only by slight probabilities, and cannot be *disproved*, in many instances, without *proving a Negative*, your Lordships will, in *such* a case, allow the *solemn asseverations* of a man, in behalf of his own innocence, to have their due weight. And I ask *no more* of God, than to grant them as much *influence* with you, as they have *truth* in themselves!

If, after all, it shall *still* be thought by your Lordships, that there is any *seeming* strength in any of the *proofs* produced against me; if by *private* persuasions of my guilt, springing from unseen, unknown motives (which ought not certainly to mix in *Public Judgements*), if by any *reasons* and *necessities* of State (of the *expedience*, the *wisdom*, and *justice* of which I am no competent judge), your Lordships shall be induced to *proceed* on this Bill, and to *pass* it in *any* shape; I shall dispose myself quietly and patiently to submit to what is determined. "God's Will be done! Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither. The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; and, whether in giving, or taking, blessed be the Name of the Lord!"

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